

THE ETHNO-LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF NORTHWESTERN IRAN AND KURDISTAN IN THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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INTRODUCTION

(see in general Gimbutovskiy 1998, 37-37; 123ff.)¹

The purpose of this article is to establish the ethno-linguistic character of that part of Iran which is delimited in the east by Dosh-I Kavir and the Ellburz range, in the north by the Araxes river (the border of Iran with the republic of Azerbaijan) and the Kara-su river, in the west by a hypothetical line west of Lake Urmia including the Hakkari mountains and most of Iraqi Kurdistan and the piedmont of the Zagros. In the south, it includes Luristan down to the hypothetical border of Elam. The chronological framework is between c. 1000 and c. 600 B.C. This is dictated by the documentation. The only document datable before the end of the tenth century B.C. originates from Bit-Ahlesdani (below, 4.7) and is early Neo-Babylonian. The later documentation is almost exclusively Neo-Assyrian, mostly royal inscriptions, letters and queries to the Sun-god. This documentation starts with Tukulti-Ninurta II, i.e. from c. 890 B.C. (cf. below, 3.7.1.2, 1) and ends with Ashurbanipal. Pertinent Urartian sources are available from the end of the ninth century and the first two-thirds of the eighth century B.C. Their information is confined to the northwestern sections of the territory under discussion here. In addition, a single Aramaic inscription has recently been discovered at Bismun in Mannaean territory. Regarding periodisation, the most suitable sub-periods are:

(1) c. 1000-745 B.C., i.e. before Tiglath-pileser III, when several campaigns of Ashurbanipal II were directed against regions of Kurdistan and eastern Urartu. Shulmaneser III and his two successors conducted the first Assyrian campaigns deep into northwestern Iran (Mannae, Parsua and Gabil-puand). The first Assyrian province on Iranian soil, Zanua, was established sometime before 810 B.C. There was also an intensive Urartian involvement in that part of Iran then. (2) 744-705 B.C., the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II (no pertinent activities are recorded in

Shulmaneser V's short reign). These great conquerors conducted a series of intensive campaigns in northwestern Iran resulting in a deeper penetration than that of Shalmaneser III and his immediate successors. Tiglath-pileser III established the provinces of Parsua and Bit-Hamban, whereas Kilesim and Harhar were incorporated into the Assyrian system of provinces by Sargon II. (3) 704-600 B.C. The activities of Sennacherib were confined to parts of Kurdistan. The long Assyrian rule must have been the main reason for the secondary state formation of Media (see Brown 1986, 1987-90, 1988), which started in his time and seems to have culminated in the reign of his successor, Esarhaddon. It was also triggered by the Chimerian and Scythian invasions of Media. There is evidence of Mannaean expansion in the periphery of the Assyrian province of Zanua at that time. The attempts of Esarhaddon to penetrate as far as the Salt Desert and Pafsaarra did not stop the consolidation of Media. As a result, Ashurbanipal's activities in northwestern Iran were confined almost exclusively to Mannan, Assyria's closest neighbour in northwestern Media. Eventually, the latter might have become an ally of Assyria against the Medes and their allies in the last generation of the Assyrian empire, presumably because the Mannaeans did not want to be absorbed by the emerging Median state.

The pertinent documentation is insufficient. Non-written (i.e. archaeological) material is not considered below, since material culture generally does not provide unambiguous evidence for the ethno-linguistic identification of its bearers. The reconstruction of the ethno-linguistic character of the territory under discussion is based mainly on the indirect evidence, which is entirely prosopographic-onomastic consisting of a sample of 221 individuals and 475 toponyms (including 14 individuals with damaged and irrelevant ontoponyms and 28 damaged toponyms; these 42 damaged and uncertain names are not included in the statistics below). Toponymy is of a much inferior value

For ethno-linguistic classification, since it inevitably preserves a certain amount of fossilised substratum forms (cf. the pessimistic reflections on the NA toponymy from Iran by Speiser 1930, 169), but in our case a considerable number of toponyms are "dynamic", i.e. originally anthroponyms (Old Iranian, Kassite, Hurro-Urartian and others). In this case there is good reason to think that many of them are basically temporary and productive rather than fossils. Toponyms, which are recorded in more than one period, are counted only once — in the period of their earliest occurrence. Divine names and appellatives are very rare (perhaps *Bagabarta* and possibly *aspasta*).² No more than 58 individuals are documented between 1600 and 745 B.C. The best-documented period is 744–705 B.C. with at least 134 individuals. The last period (704–600 B.C.) is poorly documented, with only 26 individuals. This is in accord with the intensity of Assyrian involvement in Iran (cf. above). The documentation from all the periods is of an uneven geographical distribution. The best-documented regions are Mannea and Ellipi. Both are the first political entities in Greater Media covering a considerable territory, while the other Median entities were just chiefdoms ruled by "city lords" (sg. *bēl-bī* in NA; the hypothetical Old Iranian source of this designation is not known, cf. below, 4.4).³

Mannea and Ellipi were in a way precursors (but hardly nuclei) of the Median secondary state formation. The material from Zarnua (13+16+3), the upper Diyala basin and adjacent regions, as well as from Nairi/Parsua (28) is considerable, but it refers to numerous tribal entities. It should be pointed out that the available material seems to be sufficient only for determining the ethno-linguistic character of the territory under discussion, but not its ethno-linguistic composition; for such a task the material is too scanty. The methodological problems involved with the utilisation of purely onomastic material for ethno-linguistic characterisation are dealt with by Zadok 1997d, 214. They seem to be less complicated in northwestern Iran and Kurdistan since here, only rarely, do we encounter toponyms, and the material consists almost exclusively of individuals of the highest echelons. Nevertheless, the samples from certain regions are not negligible (regions with number of individuals in brackets in descending order: 7 (49), 6 (33), 2 (29), 1 (27), 8 (27), 4 (20), 3 (15), 5 (8).

The main problem, which is posed by the analysis of the material, is the extent of the preservation of the pre-Indo-Iranian substratum among the local population in

view of the advancing Indo-Iranianisation of the territory under discussion. This substratum is heterogeneous and varies from region to region. Much of it belongs to entirely unknown dialects. Only a minority can be identified, with various degrees of plausibility, with recorded languages, like Hurro-Urartian and Elamite. Another segment is identical or related to the onomasticon of the Kassites. Although the relevant rubric below (e.g., 1.13, c) is for the sake of convenience called "Kassite", what I actually mean are "names of Kassites". It should be remembered that not a single Kassite text has come down to us. All we have are a few appellatives contained in lexical lists. At the very end of the "documentary hierarchy" are the two most ancient groups of the territory under discussion, viz. the Quhians and Lullubians. The former is used as an anachronistic designation for highlanders in the first millennium B.C. (cf. e.g., Tadmor 1994, 67 ad Ann. 13, 8). The Sargadians are characterised as "Quhians" by Sargon II (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 34), just as the Mannaeans and the inhabitants of southern Bit-Sangiddu are described as "Quhians" by Esarhaddon and Tiglath-pileser III respectively. Hahar(a) was (at least in one version) the eponymous ancestor of the "Quhian dynasty" (Hallo 1957–71, 711, compares Karahai). It seems that in all cases the Assyrian usage of this anachronistic designation is conditioned by their geographical position, but at least twice the term is applied to the Urtians and their neighbours as well (Grayson 1996, 104; Shahn, III A.O.102.28, 41; 233; Adad-nirari III A.104.20.10, 11E, *ur-Gur-ur-ir*, the warriors of the mountains, may refer to the people of Sumbi, Hubushkia, Allab/priat/Paddira) and Nairi, who precede them (in a broken context, A.O.102.1002, 3'E; the attribution of this inscription to Shulmaneser III by Grayson 1996, 172f, is tentative, cf. below, 8.8; *Quhian* is spelled with *Gu* also in the above-mentioned inscription of Adad-nirari III).⁴ As for the Lullubians, it is not even clear whether they have ever formed a distinct ethno-linguistic group. The ascription of any corpus to a distinctive "Lullubian" group is doubtful (cf. Astor 1987, 29, n. 189; 37f, with n. 259). The treatment of the "Lullubian" onomasticon by Speiser (1930, 91E) is necessarily tentative and overly optimistic. In fact, there are hardly any discernible name-components in this restricted corpus. Moreover, there seems to be a late and secondary geographical extension of Lullubum (see Klingel 1987 90, 166f.) and there is no definite delimitation between Quhian

and Lullubum. Quhian seems to overlap Lullubum to some extent: Mt. Nimuš is located in Quhian according to a *lipistu* listy (Rainer 1956, 134–41), but this is a relatively late literary source. On the whole, a clear-cut differentiation of the considerable linguistically unaffiliated onomasticon cannot be attained as a specific ascription to the languages of the autochthones.⁵ On the descriptive level, one can at best separate between names which have homonyms or parallels in other regions (notably toponymic interregional duplicates) and entirely isolated anthroponyms and toponyms. In such circumstances, suffice it to point out (and eventually quantify wherever applicable) the percentage of Old Iranian names compared with the pre-Iranian ones. The comparable material comes partly from the earlier sites in the region or near it, such as OB Šušir and MB Nuzi. For practical reasons we use, in addition to purely linguistic criteria, also non-linguistic ones in our classification below, such as pre-first millennium names (direct evidence), toponyms which are homonymous with pre-first millennium ones or comparable with them. The existence (or rather persistence?) of several discernible name-elements (such as *kingi*, *ka/pu* and *-nā*), which are peculiar and intrinsic to the region under discussion, enhances a somewhat more nuanced treatment of the unaffiliated material. In addition, one has always to bear in mind the practices and conventions of the Akkadian scribes, and to reckon with folk etymologies and generations-old Mesopotamian designations of indigenous locales on the Iranian plateau. A glimpse at the practices of the Akkadian scribes is offered by the case of the 25 regions whose names start in *Bil*. On the face of it, they can be classified as hybrid toponyms (all genitive compounds from the syntactic point of view) consisting of a Semitic initial component (*Bil*, 'house; temple; place; domain; tribal territory; region') as *nomina regum*, followed by a non-Semitic name (mostly an anthroponym)⁶ as *nomina rectum* (mostly Kassite and Iranian).⁷ However, an examination of the best-documented cases reveals that they are purely non-Semitic to begin with. The forms with *Bil* are used only by the Assyrian scribes. Therefore they are not classified below as hybrid. *Bil* of Bil-Abdāni is secondary in view of the earliest forms *bi-dā-da-ir* and *bi-pa* (4.7). The same applies to *Bil-Barani* if it is the same region as [Iran], *Ber-nak-ir*, see below, 7.10.2. There is good reason for thinking that *Bil-Barani* was named after a recorded dynast, but the case of *Bil*-

Abdāni is different: it seems that it was artificially adjusted to the "system" of tribal territories by adding *Bil* to an existing name, analogous to the case of *Bil-Zamīni* (recorded as early as the thirteenth century B.C., Nashel 1982, 74, see Zadok 1985c, 83). Likewise, 3.3, 18 below is not a genuine hybrid.

On the whole, there is an intensive interrelation between anthroponymy and toponymy. No less than thirty toponyms contain anthroponyms (with various degrees of plausibility most of those starting with *Bil*, cf. below, 11) or originate from anthroponyms (without modification: 6.7; 6.9.3.1; 7.2.1, 1.7.15.8 and perhaps 1.1.1, 6; 2.1.4; 2.3.5; 2.3.14; 3.1.1, 1; 3.7.2, 3; 4.7.1, 6.9.1.4; 6.9.4.2; 7.11; 8.9.6.1, 12). There may be at least one case of re-interpretation of a basically Iranian anthroponym by the Akkadian scribes (see below, 4.12a ad 4.4, 3 and cf. 5.5.2, 1).

A brief sketch of the history of research is in place here. Many names were etymologised as early as the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century by Justi, Hüsing, Schacholowitz and Herzfeld, but the first synthesis in the form of a special monograph was written by Diakonoff (1964a). This was followed by another monograph which is entirely devoted to the onomasticon (Granovsky 1970). The latter, whose analysis is very thorough and generally reliable, is not free of a certain "pan-Iranian" bias and his etymological solutions are sometimes too optimistic (see Diakonoff 1970, 111, n. 37). Much progress has been made in Harrian and Kassite onomastics, a large amount of new material has been published and many texts have recently been re-edited (by Porpala, Grayson, Beyer, Fröhne and, above all, Fuchs) so that time is ripe for a work utilising the full range of available material. Granovsky's comprehensive treatment is now the subject of a thorough and systematic critical examination resulting in a sound updating by Schmitt in Porpala, Radner and Whiting 1998. This relieves me of a detailed treatment of most of the Iranian anthroponyms. The final trigger for writing this article is the incorrect statement of Radner (1999, 198) that Median is not an Indo-European language. In the following pages it will be demonstrated that the long-established classification of Median as an Iranian dialect (see, e.g., Schmitt 1987–90) has despite the lack of Median texts — an adequate linguistic documentation (almost exclusively onomastic).⁸ This is not to belittle the massive contribution of Radner to Neo-Assyrian studies, including Assyro-Median relations.

1. MANNEAN AND ADJACENT REGIONS (see Amiryanyan 1985, s.v.v.; Salvini 1998)

Zig/k/qirtu and Andia were basically independent (see Vera Chamaña 1994, 115f., but cf. Fuchs 1994, 447ff.) and Alababrya belonged only temporarily to Mannea. According to Diakonoff (1985a, 72f.), who does not elaborate, Tauria, Dalaya, Subi (Tibiz region) and Sunbi also belonged to Mannea, but this is very uncertain.

1.1. Mannea 'proper'

1.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy (see Boehmer 1964, 15ff.; Kashkai 1976)

The ending of NA *Ma-man-na-ia* (Parpola 1970, 236f.; > OT *Mān*; cf. Postgate, 1987-90, 340n) is to **Man-na* (Uranian *Māna*, Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 53f.) like that of NA *Ma-da-ia* (etc., > Aram. *Māh*) is to *Māda*: the ending is adjusted to the NA and Aramaic gentilic suffix. The earlier forms, viz. *Mān-na* (Grayson 1996, 54; Shalim, III, A.0.10.2.10, iii, 34; 213; Adad-nūrī III, A.0.104.8, 8) and *Ma-man-na* (829 B.C., Grayson 1996, 83; A.0.102.16, 307), are still without this ending.²

The location of 1. *Ma-man-na* (Grayson 1996, 70; A.0.102.14, 166; 828 or 827 B.C.), *Ma-man-na* (Fuchs 1994, 439), *Ma-man-na* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 204 n. 6), the permanent capital of Mannea, is unknown (cf. Levine 1980). Its identity with Aram. *Zūr*, a seat of the god Haldi at the end of the eighth century B.C. (*High* 3; 827; Lemaire 1998, 16f., 9f.; Hildy, 12*, see 281, is not beyond doubt (see Eph'el 1999, 119f.). Salvini (1982, 386f.) points out that the original region of the Haldi (NA *Hald-ia*, e.g. Thureau-Dangin 1912, 368ff.)³ was Musqir, which is fairly close to the Būkan region, and its environs as far as the northeastern section of Assyria proper. The possibility that Esarhaddon planned to send a messenger together with an Amurru scribe (*Ma-man-na*, *Ma-man-na*) to Mannea may be gleaned from *Stur* 1990, 58, r. 10, 2. *Ma-man-na* (Fuchs 1994, 429); = *Ma-man-na*, *Ma-man-na* (Grayson 1993, Prism B, iii, 47; cf. Borger 1996, 34), modern *Zūya* (see Gadd 1950, 5; Adams 1976, map 1-20-D has 'Zūyah' which is very probably for *Zūya*); *Ma-man-na* (Grayson 1994, 424; Borger 1996, 34), 4. *Ma-man-na* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 217, 5). The latter is identical to *Ma-man-na*

(Millard 1994, 34f.; 798 B.C.; following a campaign to Mannea in 799 and preceding a campaign to Nauri in 797 B.C.).⁴ Both might have been located not far from the border, perhaps near the Assyrian province of Zūma.

More locales of Mannea are recorded in Piepkorn 1933, B, iii, 45ff. (cf. Borger 1996, 34f.; 2 above and 1.1.1.1 below are included as well) from Ashurbanipal's time: 6. *Ma-man-na* (cf. *Ma-man-na* 47; cf. Parpola 1970, 55f.), 7. *Ma-man-na* (58; between 8. *Ma-man-na* 43f. and Harsī?), 9. *Ma-man-na* (71), 10. *Ma-man-na* (72); is it a variant of 8.8, 4 below?), 11. *Ma-man-na* (72), 7, 8 are to be sought in southwest Mannea near the border of the adjacent Assyrian province. The same may apply to 9-11, 12. *Ma-man-na* (73), 13. *Ma-man-na* (74), 14. *Ma-man-na* (75), 15. *Ma-man-na* (76), 16. *Ma-man-na* (77), 17. *Ma-man-na* (78), 18. *Ma-man-na* (79), 19. *Ma-man-na* (80), 20. *Ma-man-na* (81), 21. *Ma-man-na* (82), 22. *Ma-man-na* (83), 23. *Ma-man-na* (84), 24. *Ma-man-na* (85), 25. *Ma-man-na* (86), 26. *Ma-man-na* (87), 27. *Ma-man-na* (88), 28. *Ma-man-na* (89), 29. *Ma-man-na* (90), 30. *Ma-man-na* (91), 31. *Ma-man-na* (92), 32. *Ma-man-na* (93), 33. *Ma-man-na* (94), 34. *Ma-man-na* (95), 35. *Ma-man-na* (96), 36. *Ma-man-na* (97), 37. *Ma-man-na* (98), 38. *Ma-man-na* (99), 39. *Ma-man-na* (100), 40. *Ma-man-na* (101), 41. *Ma-man-na* (102), 42. *Ma-man-na* (103), 43. *Ma-man-na* (104), 44. *Ma-man-na* (105), 45. *Ma-man-na* (106), 46. *Ma-man-na* (107), 47. *Ma-man-na* (108), 48. *Ma-man-na* (109), 49. *Ma-man-na* (110), 50. *Ma-man-na* (111), 51. *Ma-man-na* (112), 52. *Ma-man-na* (113), 53. *Ma-man-na* (114), 54. *Ma-man-na* (115), 55. 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presumably in Zig/kirtu or near it (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 169, 11 and 4, 6 [2-], 9 resp.).

1.5.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Me-ta-da-hi. Ma-ta-da-hi* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 141; *Me-ta-da-hi* > *Me-ta-da-hi*; Hurr. 7), 714 B.C.; 2. *Al-da-kub-pa*, the envoy (*MAH*) of the Zig/kirtu ruler (*MAH*-*ku-ku-ri-za-A-A*, undated, Schwemer 1998).

1.6. Andia

1.6.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Andi-Adad* (Grayson 1996, 213; *Adad-nāziri* III A.0.104.8, 9), *Ad-di-a* (Parpola 1970, 19 with refs.) is thought to be a region of Mannea (cf. Fuchs 1994, 421). It is noteworthy that the crown prince of Andia was accompanied by a Mannean emissary (see below, 1.6.2, 2). 2. *Me-ta-da-hi* is a region of Andia (Fuchs 1994, 465). The location of *Me. BADA-hi* (Grayson 1996, 213; *Adad-nāziri* III A.0.104.8, 10) and its relationship (if any) to Andia are unknown.¹⁵

1.6.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Tu-lu-ku-ri-za* (716-715 B.C.) ruler of Andia and Mannean governor (see Fuchs 1994, 415; poss. Hurr. Urr. 1; 2. *tu-lu-ku-ri*), the crown prince of Andia (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 171, 1), was accompanied by a Mannean emissary. For a commoner named *Andi-A-A*, i.e. "Andian", in the Ninevite documentation (682/1 B.C.) see Zadok 1994b, 40b.

1.7. Misil

1.7.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

Me-ta-da-hi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 51; also *Me-ta-da-hi*; see presently) is probably the same place as Urr. *Me-ta-da-hi* is extant in Urr. 1 (Grayson 1996, 1381, 1421).¹⁶ It is hesitatingly identified with either modern Tash Tepe (Urkunoff and Kashkai 1979, 57; Diakonoff 1985a, 69, cf. Herzfeld 1938, 164f., near Tash Tepe) or Hawsu (Salvini 1982, 194f., 1983, 225f., claiming that *Me-ta-da-hi* was part of Urr. *Pa-ri-za*, i.e. Parua, not Mannea).¹⁷ However, subsequently the former identification has

been rejected (without reason) by Diakonoff (1985a, 69, n. 1).¹⁸ who followed Levine (1974, 111). The latter rejected the identification of Misil with Me-ta-da-hi because of his localisation of Parua in the northern Mahdaj. Nevertheless, there are two weak points in Levine's argumentation:

1. Levine's southerly location of Misil is based on the identification of Misil with *Me-ta-da-hi* (Levine 1974, 114 with n. 114, following Meliković 1949, 58f., n. 5 and Diakonoff 1956a, 158; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 142; Kashkai 1977, 46). As stated by Fuchs (1994, 451), *Me-ta-da-hi* must be differentiated from the region of Misil. *Me-ta-da-hi* refers to a town situated between Azinu and Simaki in western Zamua (Grayson 1991, 295ff., Ashurnesirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 52f., 824; 246: A.0.101.17, iii, 34, 36; see Liverani 1992, 55 with previous lit.; 8.9.2.1 below).¹⁹ It should be remembered that Mannea reached certain points on the border of eastern Zamua in the period of its maximum southwestern expansion (the first half of the seventh century B.C., cf. below, 1.11.1), but it never controlled western Zamua. Moreover, Fuchs (1994, 451) argues that Misil was the easternmost region of Mannea.

2. Levine (1974, 116) states that "the [Urr. 1] inscription indicates that 'Tash-Tepe was Mannean, or rather it was Urr. 1-controlled Mannean territory'". In both Šamši-Adad V and Adad-nāziri III Misil (gent. *Me-ta-da-hi*) occurs only in summary inscriptions.

1. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 2. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 3. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 4. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 5. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 6. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 7. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 8. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 9. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 10. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 11. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 12. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 13. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 14. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 15. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 16. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 17. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 18. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 19. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451).

1.7.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

Pa-A-A-ak-ka-ri-ka, governor of Ullusuru, time of Sargon II; of an unknown region of Mannea (Misil) according to Grantovskiy, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 80, n. 1; Orlan, see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b).

1.8. Kumeru

Me-ta-da-hi (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 2. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 3. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 4. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 5. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 6. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 7. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 8. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 9. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 10. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 11. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 12. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 13. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 14. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 15. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 16. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 17. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 18. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 19. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 20. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 21. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 22. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 23. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 24. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 25. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 26. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 27. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 28. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 29. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 30. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 31. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 32. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 33. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 34. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 35. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 36. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 37. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 38. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 39. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 40. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 41. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 42. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 43. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 44. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 45. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 46. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 47. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 48. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 49. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 50. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 51. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 52. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 53. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 54. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 55. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 56. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 57. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 58. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 59. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 60. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 61. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 62. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 63. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 64. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 65. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 66. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 67. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 68. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 69. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 70. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 71. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 72. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 73. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 74. *Me-ta-da-hi* 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Fuchs 1994, 451). 289. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 290. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 291. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 292. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 293. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 294. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 295. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 296. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 297. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 298. *Me-ta-da-hi* (see Fuchs 1994, 451). 29

in Ashurbanipal's time. This accords well with the maximum expansion of Mannea towards Zamna during the first half of the seventh century B.C. (cf. above, 1.7.1). 2. *La-ai-m-e-te*, a district of Allabria, included the fortress of 3. *La-ai-sie-e* opposite Sinlun of Surkaš in 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 37).

1.11.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy (all rulers)

1. *Is-aw-sar-ia-d*, king of Allabria, c. 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalim, III A.O.102.6, iii, 63), Kass. (see Brinkman 1976–80a); 2. *Ar-ia-sa-ai* from Pad/* text ŠUR)-di-ra. 829 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 70; A.O.102.14, 171; see Radner (cf. Schmitt) 1998d). Oldman; 3. *Bel-apla-ida-na*, 716 B.C. (Fuchs 1998g); 4. *I-i-i* ruler of Allabria, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 24, ii.d, Ass.12; Ass. 16), atyp.

1.12. Adjacent regions

1.12.1. Šurda/ta (or Padā/Paita)

Padā/Sur-ta is first mentioned in 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 33). The identification with *PAD/Sur-ta* seems plausible in view of the geographical context: It was on the way from Karalla to Nikkur (presumably in Parsua) according to the itinerary of Sargon II.

1. *A-da-a* from Šurda, 713 B.C., atyp. (Fuchs 1998b, 1).

1.12.2. Karalla

Kar(a)-ia-i-hu-wa, gen. *KAR(a)-ia-A* (Fales and Postgate 1995, 125, 8; Röllig 1976–80) was near Zamna and Šurda. Levine (1972, 31) locates it in the plateau around Lake Zeribar (cf. Levine 1977a, 137; Fuchs 1994, 442; Vera Chamazá 1994, 96).

1. *Ašir-ia*, 716 B.C.; 2. *A-mi-taš-ia*, and his sons 3. *Ar-ka-A* and 4. *Ar-ka-a-DUG* (all from 713 B.C., Fuchs 1998a, 1998d, Fuchs and Schmitt 1998d).

1.12.3. Orlu

1. *Gur-mu-an-ia-ni* (Harper 1892–1914, 616, NA, undated) is mentioned together with Minnea, 2. *Ti-ri-B* (Lauterbach and Parpola 1990, 217 r. 1) might have been located near the Mannae border, not far from Ullusa and Samha. There is no need to compare (with Parpola 1970, 352, s.v.) Tikriš with Sigirri, which is to

be sought much more to the south (Vallat 1993, cxvi, 280 differentiates Tikriš from OB Tikriš). Tikriš is associated with Harall/Aral(i) (Kamila? cf. Deller and Postgate 1985, 71a ad 119). Stol (1976, 41f. with [R.]) is of the opinion that Tikriš was located in Luristan, whereas Vallat (1993, 80) advocates a location of both Tikriš and Harallu in southeastern Iran. Is the anthroponym *Ta-ak-ri-ia-ni* from OB Šušāni (Eidem 1992, 132, 26) a gentile of a variant of Tikriš? Nothing is known about 3. *RE-ai-A*, who are mentioned together with the Mannaeans and Sirisians in Esarhaddon's time (Starr 1990, 28, 11).

1.13. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (27 = 100%; severely damaged names, viz. 1.6.2, 2, are not taken into account; the same applies to 1.1.2, 9, which is dubious)

(a) Old Iranian (4 = 14.81%): 829 B.C.: *Ar-ia-sa-ai* (1.11.2, 2; see [Radner and Schmitt 1998d]; *Ū-da-ki* (1.1.2, 1) < **hu-dā-ka* (to **hu-dā-* with Avestan parallels; see Grantovsky 1970, 186f.9); 717 or 716 B.C.: *Be-ag-da-ai-ni* (1.3.2, 1) < **Baga-dā-* (see Justi 1895, 57a; Scheffelowitz 1905, 274; [Fuchs and Schmitt 1998j]); Time of Sargon II: *Da-A-a-ak-ka-ik-ka* (1.7.2, 1, see Schmidt 1973; [Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b]); (b) Old Iranian or atypical (1 = 3.7%): *A-a-a* (1.1.2, 4; see [Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b]; too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation); (c) Kassite (1 = 3.7%): *ke-ar-zi-bur-iaš* (1.11.2, 1, cf. Balkan 1954, 58); (d) Hurro-Urartian (1 = 3.7%): *El-ir-ist-u-ni*, *Er-ist-ia-ni* (1.1.2, 8; cf. MB *ir-ist-ia-ni*, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 220b, 255; Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b); for *JA* cf. perhaps *Ōr* (or *hu-ri-ist-ia-ia-na* (1.1.1, 9) and *Ūr-me-ŋor* *Ūr-me* = *Ar-me-ŋ-tā*, *Ar-me-ai*, 1.1.1, 3); Just possible (1 = 3.7%): *Te-lu-yel-ia* (1.6.2, 1) apparently ends with Hur. *sēn* 'brother' or a related form (cf. Gelb *et al.* 294b; Diakonoff 1956a, 207, n. 3; 1985, 71 with n. 1; hardly Kassite as hesitantly suggested by Balkan 1954, 178); Doubtful (2 = 7.4%): *MB/MB-ta-ai-ni*, *-ta-ai-ni* (1.5.2, 1, see Diakonoff 1985, 71 with n. 1; hardly Iranian as understood by Herzfeld 1938, 171 and Grantovsky 1970, 273) and 1.1.2, 6; (e) Atypical (4 = 14.81%): *A-da-a* (1.1.2.1, 1), *A-hu-ta* (1.1.2, 3), both short and ubiquitous; *Gi-ki-i* (1.1.2, 12, cf. Talievici 1914, 277b; [Lapinkivi and] Schmitt 1998; *Kir* with dissimilation, cf. Zadok 1925a, 439; common to several unrelated

dialects); 1.1.2, 4; (f) Akkadian (3 = 11.11%): 1.1.2, 1, 1.1.2, 3, 1.1.2, 1; (g) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated (3 = 11.11%): *Ar-ai-ia-ni*, *Ar-ai-ia-ni* (1.1.2, 2), cf. perhaps OB *Ar-ai-ia-ni* from Šušāni (Eidem 1992, 50, 16), with interchange of a liquid/nasal due to the presence of two such consonants in this name; *Ū-da-jel-ia* (1.1.2, 7), cf. perhaps NE *Ū-d* (Scheid 1907, 259; 4, cf. Zadok 1991, 225, n. 2) on the one hand and the toponym *Ū-da-ia* near Erzi (Parpola 1970, 362; cf. Astour 1987, 56f.), in a Hurro-Urartian speaking region on the other. *Ū-lu-ia-ni* (1.1.2, 5) was compared with *Ū-lu-ia-ni* (1.10.2, 1) by Melikisvili 1949, 71. It has nothing to do with MB *Ū-lu-ia-ni* (pace Boehmer 1964, 18 with n. 45); (h) Unaffiliated and isolated (7 = 25.92%): *A-d-hu-ka* (1.5.2, 2, cf. Schmitt *opud* Schwemer 1998), *A-mi-taš-ia* (1.1.2.2, 2; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998d), *Re-A-A-ka-dā-ia-ia-ia* (1.6.2, 1, 1.8.2; its problematic segmentation is discussed by Diakonoff 1956a, 282 with n. 3); 1.1.2, 10, 12; 1.1.2.2, 4.

(i) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000–745: 4 = 14.81%; 744–705: 16 = 59.25%; 744–705/704–600: 2 = 7.4%; 704–600: 5 = 18.51%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 1000–745 (4 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 = 50%; Kassite 1 = 25%; Isolated 1 = 25%; 744–705 (16 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 = 12.5%; Old Iranian or atypical 1 = 6.25%; possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 = 6.25%; Hurro-Urartian? 1 = 6.25%; atypical 3 = 18.75%; Akkadian 3 = 18.75%; unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 1 = 6.25%; unaffiliated and isolated 4 = 25%. 744–705/704–600 (2 = 100%): Atypical 1 = 50%; unaffiliated and isolated 1 = 50%; 704–600 (5 = 100%): Hurro-Urartian 1 = 20%; Hurro-Urartian? 1 = 20%; unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 1 = 20%; unaffiliated and isolated 2 = 40%.

1.14. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (82

= 100%; severely damaged names, viz. 1.1.1, 14; 1.4, 2, 6; 1.10.1, 4; 1.12.3, 3 are not taken into account)

(a) Pre-first millennium (2 = 2.43%): *hu-ka-nu-ur-da-ia* (1.8) < *Ur III Hamma*, *hu-nu-ri* is recorded as an anthroponym in MB (Balkan 1954, 55). *MB Hu-ai-ri* (1.8); presumably = *Hu-ai-ri-ia* (b) Homonymous with pre-first millennium (2 = 2.43%): *Ar-ai-ia* (1.9, 3) may be compared with the anthroponyms *Ar-ai-ia*, *Ar-ai-ia* from MB Nuzi

(Gelb *et al.* 1943, 24b, 204f.), *Ti-ri-ri-ri* (1.12.3, 2) looks like a quasi homonym of *Tikriš*, a toponym from the second millennium B.C. (c) Old Iranian (1 = 1.21%): *Ar-ai-ia-ia-ia-ia-ia* (1.1.1, 6) < *āra-āra-* patronymic of *Ar*, 'fire' (cf. Yoshida 1986, 93, n. 42 whose analysis is imprecise), cf. LB *Ar-ai-ia-ia-ia-ia* and *Ar-ai-ia-ia-ia* for one and the same individual (Hilprecht and Clay 1898, 18, 14 and 28a, 15 resp.; see Zadok 1977a, 115; 2.4.1 and Dandamayev 1992, 4975). Just possible (4 = 4.87%): *Ū-d-ai-RIK-ka* (1.5.1, 4) < **Ū-d-ai-ka* 'pasture' (see Zadok 1977b, 77a with n. 2); *Ar-ai-ia* (1.5.1, 10) < **Ar-ai* (see Grantovsky 1971, 276) is apparently homonymous with the hypothetical fore-runner of modern *Zand* in eastern Media; 1.5.1.1. Doubtful (2 = 2.43%): *Ū-d-ai-ia* (1.3.1, 1) < **Ū-d-ai* 'good' according to Grantovsky 1970, 274, but doubt is cast on this interpretation by Ugart. *Ū-d-ai*, *Ū-d-ai-ia* (1.1.2, 8, see Grantovsky 1970, 273). *Za-ra-ai-ia* (1.1.2, 8, see Grantovsky 1971, 276) is apparently homonymous with the hypothetical fore-runner of modern *Zand* in eastern Media; 1.5.1.1. Doubtful (2 = 2.43%): *Ū-d-ai-ia* (1.3.1, 1) < **Ū-d-ai* 'good' according to Grantovsky 1970, 274, but doubt is cast on this interpretation by Ugart. *Ū-d-ai*, *Ū-d-ai-ia* (1.1.2, 8, see Grantovsky 1970, 273). *Za-ra-ai-ia* (1.1.2, 8, see Grantovsky 1971, 276) is apparently homonymous with the hypothetical fore-runner of modern *Zand* in eastern Media; 1.5.1.1. 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1.21%); *Al-lab/p-r-a*, *Al-la-ah/p-r-i-a*, *Al-lab/p-r-i-a* (1.11.1), cf. perhaps the MB anthroponym *la-ah-p-r-i-a* (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 219b, 370a). (f) **Hurro-Urartian** (2 = 2.43%); *Ar-da-hi* (1.6.1, 1) may be based on the **aw-* which is productive in the Hurrian onomastics, e.g. in MA *ar-da-ah-be-li* in Nairi (Grayson 1991, 21; Tigl. A.0.87.1, iv, 74; cf. Salvini 1967, 51, n. 8). *-ah-* is an internal Assyrian variation of the Akkadian case ending, cf. MA *ar-da-hi*, NA *ar-da-hi* in Assyria proper (Nashef 1982, 4f.). *Pa-a-da* (1.5.1, 1) is based on *par-* which can be represented by the late OB anthroponym *Bo-ar-ti* (Salvini 1996, 57, ii, 12; cf. Zadok 1999, 82). *Pa-ar-da* can render neither OIran. **Pārda-* nor **Pārta-* (pace Grantovsky 1970, 273). **Doubtful** (6 = 7.31%); *Ur-hi-ia-mu-ur* (1.1.1, 16), cf. perhaps Urart. *Ur-hi-ia-ni*, Diakonoff and Kasikavi 1979, 95) on the one hand and — if the segmentation is correct — MA *Un-a-mu-ur* (Grayson 1991, 21; Tigl. A.0.87.1, iv, 74) on the other (see Salvini 1967, 51; Nashef 1982, 272; *un-a* is extant in MB Nuzi, — *ur*, *Ar-Up-pi-ia* (1.1.1, 17) — Boehmer (1964, 18, with n. 53) compares the anthroponym *Ar-bi-ia* (MB Nuzi, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 205), which may be based on Hurr. *ar-p-*, but *-i* is still without parallel in this case, *Ši-ar-ur-da-lu-ud* (1.7.1, 1), cf. Boehmer 1964, 18 with n. 52; Zadok 1986, 245; ii, 1; 1999, 11 (i-hu)). *A-bi-ia-ia-ia* and *La-la-ia-ia-ia* (1.2, 3, 5) contain *-C-n-* (cf. Zadok 1995a, 443), is 1.2, 1 based on *an-* (cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 278f.). (g) **Hurro-Urartian** or atypical (1 = 1.21%); *Pa-a-da-pa* (1.2, 4) is either atypical (short and ubiquitous, cf. e.g., the OB and MB anthroponym *Bo-a-pa*, Salvini 1996, 59, iii, 31, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 243a) or perhaps Urart. *baba* 'mountain'. (h) **Akkadian?** (1 = 1.21%); is *Har-ra-na-A* (1.10.1, 1); the first sign has also the values *har*, *har*, *har* and *kin*); a residual Akkadian name (based on *Har-rān*) or an Akkadianised form? It may be compared linguistically with *ar-HAR-ra-na* (Lanfranchi and Pappalardo 1990, 133; *a*), which was on the way from Hubuška to Assyria (poss. > modern *Rāna*, see Lanfranchi 1995, 136). *ar-HAR-ra-na-ni* ('in Kurdistan' according to Starr 1990, 364b ad 23, 7), and NE *Har-ra-ni* Inat the same place as cautiously suggested by Hinz and Koch 1987, 623). (i) **Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (10 = 12.99%); *Pa-an-zu* (1.7.1, 2), cf. the anthroponyms *Pa-an-zi* (f) (Fales and Postgate 1995, 219, iii, 10) and *Pa-an-zi* from Šušarra (Eidem 1992, 49a) as well as NA *Pa-an-zi* in Subria (possibly identical with *ar-Bē-*

en-zi, see Kessler 1995, 63) with *Cie/Ci/Ci*: *Cia/Ci/Ci* (cf. *Ni-hi-ni-ia* below, 2.6). With an earlier toponymic parallel from OB Šušarra (cf. 8.12, i below): — *Ši-ne-ri* of — *Ha-di-ri* (1.1.1, 20, if the segmentation is correct), 1.1.1, 5 has an earlier homonym, viz. the anthroponym *Ši-hi-ia* from MB Nuzi (see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 271a), cf. perhaps *ar-hi-ia* beyond the Nal range (*ar-hi-ia* on the Urartian border (Tadmor 1994, 301 with refs.), perhaps a case of toponymic interregional duplication (cf. Astour 1987, 35). *Pa-šar-da-ta* (1.12.1)²² may be homonymous with RAE *ar-šar-da-ta* (Vallat 1993, 264) on the one hand and perhaps *ar-šar-da-a* (Tadmor 1994, 126; Summ. 1, 27, behind the Nal range) on the other, if the latter begins with a secondary (NA) *a-* (cf. below, 6.11, b). Compare also *Ši-ri*, son of a Zagros king in a letter from OB Šušarra (probably Hurrian according to Eidem 1992, 50), as well as the MB anthroponyms *Ši-ri* (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 133b) and *Ši-ri-ia* (according to Gelb *et al.* 1943, 257b) from Nuzi. *Si-ri-hi-ri* (1.9, 1) — both *širi* and *hiri* are recorded (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 216f., 257b), but they are never combined. *Ši-ia-ia-pa* (1.5.1, 5); perhaps homonymous with 6.7.4 below) is hardly Iranian as understood by Grantovsky (1970, 273); an element *šir-* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponymy (see Salvini 1967, 60; cf. Diakonoff and Kasikavi 1979, 45f.). *Na-ar-za* (1.5.1, 8) is too short for a reliable analysis; in addition, *-za-* is also found in toponyms referring to places where Hurro-Urartian dialects were spoken: *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri* (1.11.1, 1), *Pa-ti-ri* (the interchange *id* is not uncommon in NA transcriptions of non-Semitic names) may be homonymous with OAKK. *Pā-ti-rā*, *Bo-ti-rā* (Rashed 1981, 114, 10; 132, 13) in Jabal Hmurin, *Bo-ti-ur* (Ur III or early OB, poss. modern Sar-i Pūl-i Zohab, in the land of Hatman (Edzard 1973; Speiser 1930, 88f.; Frayne 1992, 64ff.). For Balur see Kötting 1928; cf. Diakonoff 1985, 38 (in a Lullubian context). Perhaps it is a substratum name with a Lullubian connexion. *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri*, *Pa-ti-ri* probably has nothing to do with MA *ar-pa-ia-ri* of Nairi (pace Streck 1899, 152). *Mi-Mi-hi-ri*, *Mi-ri* (1.7.1) is apparently homonymous with *Me-Mi-ur* (cf. below, 8.9, 1) on Lullubian territory. *Kar-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* (1.12.2) is compared with *Har-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* by Deiler and Postgate (1985, 71b ad 119; for *k* < *h* in a different milieu see Durand 1994, 388, n. 28; 1997, 604, n. 68). Whether LB *kar-ah-lal-le*, a kind of silver ornament (see Joannès 1989), has anything to do with *Kar-ah-lal* (or

Har-ah-lal) eludes me. (j) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (44 = 53.65%): The last syllable of (*š*) *šir-ir-ia* (*šir-ir-ia*, *Zig-šir-ir-ia* and *Pa-ar-da* (cf. 8.12, i below): — *Ši-ne-ri* of — *Ha-di-ri* (1.1.1, 20, if the segmentation is correct), 1.1.1, 5 has an earlier homonym, viz. the anthroponym *Ši-hi-ia* from MB Nuzi (see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 271a), cf. perhaps *ar-hi-ia* beyond the Nal range (*ar-hi-ia* on the Urartian border (Tadmor 1994, 301 with refs.), perhaps a case of toponymic interregional duplication (cf. Astour 1987, 35). *Pa-šar-da-ta* (1.12.1)²² may be homonymous with RAE *ar-šar-da-ta* (Vallat 1993, 264) on the one hand and perhaps *ar-šar-da-a* (Tadmor 1994, 126; Summ. 1, 27, behind the Nal range) on the other, if the latter begins with a secondary (NA) *a-* (cf. below, 6.11, b). Compare also *Ši-ri*, son of a Zagros king in a letter from OB Šušarra (probably Hurrian according to Eidem 1992, 50), as well as the MB anthroponyms *Ši-ri* (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 133b) and *Ši-ri-ia* (according to Gelb *et al.* 1943, 257b) from Nuzi. *Si-ri-hi-ri* (1.9, 1) — both *širi* and *hiri* are recorded (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 216f., 257b), but they are never combined. *Ši-ia-ia-pa* (1.5.1, 5); perhaps homonymous with 6.7.4 below) is hardly Iranian as understood by Grantovsky (1970, 273); an element *šir-* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponymy (see Salvini 1967, 60; cf. Diakonoff and Kasikavi 1979, 45f.). *Na-ar-za* (1.5.1, 8) is too short for a reliable analysis; in addition, *-za-* is also found in toponyms referring to places where Hurro-Urartian dialects were spoken: *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri* (1.11.1, 1), *Pa-ti-ri* (the interchange *id* is not uncommon in NA transcriptions of non-Semitic names) may be homonymous with OAKK. *Pā-ti-rā*, *Bo-ti-rā* (Rashed 1981, 114, 10; 132, 13) in Jabal Hmurin, *Bo-ti-ur* (Ur III or early OB, poss. modern Sar-i Pūl-i Zohab, in the land of Hatman (Edzard 1973; Speiser 1930, 88f.; Frayne 1992, 64ff.). For Balur see Kötting 1928; cf. Diakonoff 1985, 38 (in a Lullubian context). Perhaps it is a substratum name with a Lullubian connexion. *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri*, *Pa-ti-ri* probably has nothing to do with MA *ar-pa-ia-ri* of Nairi (pace Streck 1899, 152). *Mi-Mi-hi-ri*, *Mi-ri* (1.7.1) is apparently homonymous with *Me-Mi-ur* (cf. below, 8.9, 1) on Lullubian territory. *Kar-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* (1.12.2) is compared with *Har-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* by Deiler and Postgate (1985, 71b ad 119; for *k* < *h* in a different milieu see Durand 1994, 388, n. 28; 1997, 604, n. 68). Whether LB *kar-ah-lal-le*, a kind of silver ornament (see Joannès 1989), has anything to do with *Kar-ah-lal* (or

(*Har-ah-lal*) eludes me. (j) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (44 = 53.65%): The last syllable of (*š*) *šir-ir-ia* (*šir-ir-ia*, *Zig-šir-ir-ia* and *Pa-ar-da* (cf. 8.12, i below): — *Ši-ne-ri* of — *Ha-di-ri* (1.1.1, 20, if the segmentation is correct), 1.1.1, 5 has an earlier homonym, viz. the anthroponym *Ši-hi-ia* from MB Nuzi (see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 271a), cf. perhaps *ar-hi-ia* beyond the Nal range (*ar-hi-ia* on the Urartian border (Tadmor 1994, 301 with refs.), perhaps a case of toponymic interregional duplication (cf. Astour 1987, 35). *Pa-šar-da-ta* (1.12.1)²² may be homonymous with RAE *ar-šar-da-ta* (Vallat 1993, 264) on the one hand and perhaps *ar-šar-da-a* (Tadmor 1994, 126; Summ. 1, 27, behind the Nal range) on the other, if the latter begins with a secondary (NA) *a-* (cf. below, 6.11, b). Compare also *Ši-ri*, son of a Zagros king in a letter from OB Šušarra (probably Hurrian according to Eidem 1992, 50), as well as the MB anthroponyms *Ši-ri* (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 133b) and *Ši-ri-ia* (according to Gelb *et al.* 1943, 257b) from Nuzi. *Si-ri-hi-ri* (1.9, 1) — both *širi* and *hiri* are recorded (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 216f., 257b), but they are never combined. *Ši-ia-ia-pa* (1.5.1, 5); perhaps homonymous with 6.7.4 below) is hardly Iranian as understood by Grantovsky (1970, 273); an element *šir-* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponymy (see Salvini 1967, 60; cf. Diakonoff and Kasikavi 1979, 45f.). *Na-ar-za* (1.5.1, 8) is too short for a reliable analysis; in addition, *-za-* is also found in toponyms referring to places where Hurro-Urartian dialects were spoken: *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri* (1.11.1, 1), *Pa-ti-ri* (the interchange *id* is not uncommon in NA transcriptions of non-Semitic names) may be homonymous with OAKK. *Pā-ti-rā*, *Bo-ti-rā* (Rashed 1981, 114, 10; 132, 13) in Jabal Hmurin, *Bo-ti-ur* (Ur III or early OB, poss. modern Sar-i Pūl-i Zohab, in the land of Hatman (Edzard 1973; Speiser 1930, 88f.; Frayne 1992, 64ff.). For Balur see Kötting 1928; cf. Diakonoff 1985, 38 (in a Lullubian context). Perhaps it is a substratum name with a Lullubian connexion. *Pa-d'i-d'i-ra-ri*, *Pa-ti-ri* probably has nothing to do with MA *ar-pa-ia-ri* of Nairi (pace Streck 1899, 152). *Mi-Mi-hi-ri*, *Mi-ri* (1.7.1) is apparently homonymous with *Me-Mi-ur* (cf. below, 8.9, 1) on Lullubian territory. *Kar-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* (1.12.2) is compared with *Har-ah-lal-le-hu-ur* by Deiler and Postgate (1985, 71b ad 119; for *k* < *h* in a different milieu see Durand 1994, 388, n. 28; 1997, 604, n. 68). Whether LB *kar-ah-lal-le*, a kind of silver ornament (see Joannès 1989), has anything to do with *Kar-ah-lal* (or

2. PARSUA AND ENVIRONS
(see Streck 1900, 308ff.; Levine 1973, 20f.; 1974, 106ff.; cf. Arutyunyan 1985, s.vv.; Salvini 1998)

2.1. Explicitly in Parsua

2.1.1. Parsua "proper"

2.1.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

Parsua (*ar-Par/Pār-stu-a*, *ar-Pār-stu-a*, *ar-Pār-stu-a*, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 38) was on the way from Larute (in Allabipria) to Missi according to the itinerary of Sargon II's eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 37ff.). Tiglath-Pileser III annexed the two provinces of Parsua and Bit-Hamban to Assyria in 744 B.C. (see Tadmor 1994, 166 ad Summ. 7, 37 and 98; St. B. 9 f.). Qal'eh Paswē not far from Selduz may be a survival of the name Parsua according to Minorsky 1957, 78f. (cf. Sayce 1882, 389; Kinnier Wilson 1969, 111f.). Qal'eh Paswē is far enough from the southern shore of Lake Urmia. This location is still compatible with the conclusion of Levine (1974, 112) that Parsua was raided, but not conquered by Urtu. Its localisation of Parsua northwest of the Mahidat, including the northern end of the Mahidat itself (near Ravansar, Levine 1974, 106ff.; 1977a, 138f.; followed by Vera Chamaiza 1994, 97ff.) does not necessarily rule out its extension to the north, as far as Qal'eh Paswē. Levine does not define the eastern border of Parsua, but states that Mannea lay to the north. This statement can be relativised considering that there are hardly any fixed points of delimitation of Mannea in the west-southwest, at least before Ashurbanipal's time. Qal'eh Paswē is on Hubuška territory, as implied by Reade 1978, 140, fig. 2 and Liebig 1991, 33f. Levine (1977b, 181) is of the opinion that the Mahidat was the critical area in the competition between Assyria and Urtu on the hegemony in Media and points out (Levine 1974, 110f.) that Parsua is recorded together with Niquu and Tugliā (= Tūplia) in Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, cf. presently). However, this does not bear on its location and does not support a southerly extension of Parsua.²³ In fact, in these summary inscriptions Parsua precedes Bit-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 124; Summ. 1, 18; 132; Summ. 3, 6) and Bit-Zati, Bit-Abdani, Bit-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 164f.; Summ. 7, 29, 35). All these regions are to be sought north of the Great Khorsan Road. The general geographical order of these summary

inscriptions is discussed by George (1996: 369, n. 14). Zadok 2001 presents the sections where the Iranian regions are listed.

Regarding geographical arrangement, there are at least three groups of regions, namely a southern (Nos. 1-9, 24-32-35), northern (Nos. 12-17, 19-21) and an eastern one (Nos. 18, 24-26, 36-41). Most of the remaining regions are mentioned only once. The longest list (A) seems to form an almost full circle, namely from the southwest (notably Nairi, Tuplās and Ba-Barrūt to the north (notably Bit-Abdān, Bit-Kapsi and Sibur), then to the southeast (U-parya and B/Pustas) and southwest (Til-Aššur). In this case 36-41, which are to be sought further east, form an appendix. It is clear therefore that Parsua is associated with the northern group, i.e. the regions which are generally situated north of the Great Khorsan Road. This is in agreement with Forrer (1921, 90), who locates Parsua more to the north, roughly east of Sanandaj. He is followed by Reade (1978, 139) and Zimansky (1990, 14). The latter criticises Levine's southern location of Parsua and points out that it was an extensive territory. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (basically describing the campaign of 843 or 842 B.C.) contain a constant geographical sequence from north to south, viz. ¹Mu-un-na, ²Al-lab-p-ti-a, ³Pa-sua, ⁴Ab-da-da-a-mi, ⁵Ab-da-da-a-mu, ⁶Ha-ban, ⁷ZĀLAG, ⁸Na-mur and ⁹Tig-lia-šs (Grayson 1996: 40ff.; A.0.102.6, iii, 6ff.; A.0.102.10, iii, 34ff., cf. A.0.102.13, 2ff.). The sequence ¹⁰Mu-un-na, ¹¹Pa-sua, ¹²Al-lab-p-ti-a, ¹³Ab-da-da-a-mi, ¹⁴ZĀLAG, ¹⁵Ha-ban and ¹⁶Tig-lia-šs (Grayson 1996: 60; A.0.102.12, 19f.) is secondary (a shorter version is contained in the fragment Grayson 1996: 114f.; A.0.102.37, 10f.). 27 kings of ¹⁷Pa-sua delivered tribute in 835 B.C. after Shalmaneser III had completed his campaign against Nairi (Grayson 1996: 68; A.0.102.14, 120; see Levine 1977b: 178; Salvini 1982: 391; Vera Chazarova 1994, 99; no specific kingdoms and rulers are recorded). This is not a stereotype ('typological') number and hence credible. In 829 B.C. Shalmaneser III received tribute from an unspecified number of Parsuan kings, but he had to conquer the cities of other rulers of Parsua who did not submit to him (Grayson 1996: 68; A.0.102.14, 122f.; in the following year he had to repeat his activities). It is evident that Parsua was not a consolidated political unit, but rather a cover name for many small entities governed by city rulers, whose foreign policy was not

necessarily coordinated. A detailed list of 'all the kings of Nairi', who delivered tribute as a result of the third campaign (and of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.), is preserved in Grayson 1996: 186: Samš-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 45ff. This list enumerates at least 27 rulers (of 28, see Grantovsky 1970, 192f., 209, but cf. below 2.1.4.1). Although there is no evidence that they ruled over regions of Parsua (Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2 defines their territory in very general terms: 'mountainous regions of the Zagros and west of them') [the end of his statement is less defensible; for 'Greater' Nairi, cf. Liverani 1992, 107f.], it is remarkable that their number is almost identical with that of the Parsuan kings, who are mentioned about 20 years earlier, i.e. virtually in the same generation. In addition, it stands to reason that the arena of Samš-Adad V's campaign included Parsua. It can be argued that Nairi here refers to northwestern Media (including Parsua) as well. It is stated that Samš-Adad V went to Nairi in his second campaign, in the course of which he defeated S/SAR-pi-na of Zamua, Uspina (Ispini of Urartu) and the people of Sumbi, and received tribute from the kings of Nairi. In the course of his third campaign to Nairi, Samš-Adad V received tribute from Hubniskia, S/SAR-pi-na of Zamua, the Surbeans, Manneans, Parsuans and Taurians, and he marched against Missi, Gizilb-punda and the Medes (Grayson 1996: 184f.; A.0.103.1, ii, 16ff.). Nairi in Adad-narāni III's time is just a geographical term (see Salvini 1967, 23). This applies to Samš-Adad V's time as well.

1. ¹⁸Sa-la-ter-mu-mi and 2. ¹⁹Ki-mi-ter-mu-mi (juxtaposed; with 23 unnamed settlements) of Parsua are recorded in 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996: 71; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 186, cf. 83; A.0.102.16, 33f.). Urart. Parsua included the towns of 3. ²⁰Sa-ni-ni and 4. ²¹Qa-di-a (Diakonoff and Kaskhai 1979, 67, 79). 5. ²²Pa-kip-pa (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 15, 418; see Streck 1990) may tentatively be Urart. *Nigibe* in Parsua (Diakonoff and Kaskhai 1979, 60), in which case the settlement of Nigibe might have been situated on Mt. Nikappa. Nikappa was adjacent to Sumbi (below 8.8), which was situated in northern Zamua, is Sā ²³Pa-kip (Reiser 1956, 129ff., 132-27; a source of *hahdi*-stones) the same place? (CTC signs like *KAP* are indifferent to vowel quality; the variant *h-kap* may be due to a copyist's error, *h* being *h* with an extra wedge), 6. ²⁴Gūgūhan (extent in the gent. ²⁵Gi-in-hu-ah-ka-1-A) is identical with ²⁶Gi-in-gu-ah-ka (perhaps in Nisanman

according to Fuchs 1994, 435; cf. below 2.1.1, see Wüster 1975, 280, n. 1448, cf. Billerbeck 1898, 101f., n. 1), and ²⁷Ki-mi-hu-ah-ka (Harper 1892-1914, 556 r, 10; see Diakonoff 1956a, 211, n. 3, cf. Grantovsky 1970, 193). The latter is mentioned together with 7. ²⁸Ki-za-hu-si and Harbar (= Kūr-Surru-ukin), ²⁹Ni-kur, Media, Mannen, Mazauria and Habbam are also mentioned in the same letter. However, the latter has neither a specific geographical context nor an administrative affiliation (cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 211, n. 3). 8. ³⁰Ni-kur-gent. ³¹Ni-ik-kun-A-A, see Billerbeck 1898, 78f. is mentioned after Bit-Ab-da-da-ni and Bit-Sangliff (), and before Sassiaku (Tadmor 1994, 46; Am. 10.9f.; 11.5; 744 B.C.). There is no definite proof that Nikkur was situated in Parsua as understood by Forrer (1921, 89; Diakonoff 1985a, 62, n. 2 is of the opinion that Nikkur was the capital of Parsua), the more so since Parsua is not mentioned in this passage (but the passage is damaged). Tadmor (1994, 47) compares Nikkur with ³²Ni-ik-? (Levine 1972, 39, ii, 33; his campaign in Parsua included Gangultu, cf. Wüster 1975, 268ff., 280f. with n. 1450), which is mentioned between (Mannae) → Karalla → Šurta/Patta and Šurgadia (from there he proceeded to Hundir and Kišes). The first section of Sargon II's itinerary in 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 36f., ii, 26ff.) is: Mannae → Karalla → Šurta/Patta → Nikkur → Šurgadia → Hundir (Kišes). It can be concluded that Parsua bordered on northern Zamua and Mannae, and was situated west of Gizilb-punda.

2.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOONYMY

³³U-si ³⁴Gi-in-hu-ah-ka-A-A, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C. (Grayson 1996: 186: Samš-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 58; Kass.).

2.1.2. Šurgadia

³⁵Šur-ga-di-a was annexed to the province of Parsua by Sargon II (see Levine 1977b: 181; Fuchs 1994, 461).

1. ³⁶No-ah-ri (Hurr-Urart.) and 2. ³⁷Sepe šarri, both 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 34f.).

2.1.3. Nisanman

³⁸Ni-ik-sa-an-ua was also annexed to the province of Parsua by Sargon II (Fuchs 1994, 457).

2.1.4. B/Pusta

2.1.4.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

³⁹B/Pu-ah-ia, which explicitly belonged to Parsua in 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996: 71; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 186), is identified with Urart. *B/Pustis* (Diakonoff and Kaskhai, 1979, 23 and map after 127) and ⁴⁰B/Pu-ah-ia (Borger 1996, 33, C iv, 45f.; see Diakonoff 1956a, 282, n. 2; Grantovsky 1970, 141). It seems to be a pre-Iranian toponym (see below 2.6). ⁴¹B/Pu-ah-ia-ua is not identical with ⁴²B/Pu-ah-ia (or *B/Pu-ah-ia*), a district of Media near Ba-Ti-ili (below 7.12.1), which is much to the south (see Billerbeck 1898, 91, n. 2 and Diakonoff 1991, 14, n. 5, pace Streck 1980, 310 [cf. 308, n. 1]). Salvini 1982, 391 with n. 48 and Arutyunyan 1985, 61). B/Pusta included the settlements of 1. ⁴³Qa-di-a (alternatively to Mannae) and 2. ⁴⁴Qa-di-a-ri-ia as well as the district of 3. ⁴⁵Šurpura, which may be the same as *Satruš* (Diakonoff and Kaskhai 1979, 65f., 80; cf. the Urdian province ⁴⁶Šatruš-ia, Landfränk and Pargola 1990, 90, 137). ⁴⁷Šurpura included 4. ⁴⁸A-b/pa-za-ia and ⁴⁹Satruš. The latter had 5. ⁵⁰Gi-ah-ia-ri-ia and possibly the sub-district of 6. ⁵¹Ma-ah-ia-ri-ia (Diakonoff and Kaskhai 1979, 3, 36, 53). Both 7. ⁵²Ši-ni-ri-ia (related to 3 above?) and 8. ⁵³Pa-ri-ia (URU)-ri-ia (Grayson 1996, 71; Shalm. III A.0.102.14 183f.) belonged to 9. ⁵⁴Šur (cf. [listed between Andin and Parsua, 828 B.C.] included another 22 unnamed settlements). They might have been located on the way to B/Pusta. ⁵⁵Ša-ni-ri-A-A (Grayson 1996: 186: Samš-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 63) looks like a gentile of an NA equivalent of *Satruš*. Diakonoff (1956a, 167, n. 1) considers this possibility and renders 'the Sairean Atarsiran'. It appears at the end of a long list of kings which has a pattern RN + gentile, whereas we have at best gentile + RN. Grantovsky (1970, 209) regards *Ša-ni-ri-A-A* as an anthroponym because it is preceded by a *Personen*, in this case the political entity of both *Ša-ni-ri-A-A* and *Ar-ka-šar-ri* cannot be determined. Are we to deal here with a case of chiasm? This is tentatively suggested here in view of the resemblance of ⁵⁶Ša-ni-ri-A-A to *Satruš* and the possibility that a geographical determinative may interchange with a *Personen* in a cuneiform inscription. 10. ⁵⁷Ar-levhe-ri was located south of Lake Urmia in the vicinity of B/Pusta according to Diakonoff and Kaskhai 1979, 10. The fact that B/Pusta was in Mannean hands in the middle of the sixth century B.C., may indicate that it was situated not far from the Mannae-Parsua border.

2.1.4.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOONY

A-ta-si-ra-ni (Olan.), end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.).

2.2. Mentioned in other sources as well (gentilics; end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.)

2.2.1. Tauru

At least *ba-ta-ni-ia-A+A* is listed after Pâr-su-a in Grayson 1996, 184: Šamsi-Adad V A.6.103.1, ii, 40. Its ruler was 1. *ba-a-ru-ia* the Tauritean (62; Iran.?).

2.2.2. Hundur (not near the Taurus mountains as stated by Levine 1972:756)

1. *Za-ri-šû* ^{ba}*Hu-ur-du-ur-A+A* (47).

2.2.3. Kibaruš

1. *Pa-ra-ni-ia* (Olan.) ^{ba}*Ki-ba-ri-ia-A+A* (51f. cf. *Ga-bu-ri-sa-A+A*, 1.10.] above?).

2.2.4. Kinku

1. *Šu-ma-a* ^{ba}*Ki-ri-ka-A+A* (49f.; cf. ^{ba}*Ki-ri-ka-A+A* the first city which was conquered in Güzibunda (but it was razed, destroyed and burned according to Grayson 1996, 185: A.6.103.1, ii, 1f.). This is perhaps not a discrepancy, seeing that the account of Šamsi-Adad V's third (and second) campaign 'is very confused and seem to follow no geographical order, but the places mentioned span all of Iranian Kurdistan' according to Levine 1977b, 178, n. 5.

2.3. *Pein* states which might have been situated in northwest Media, including *Parsua* (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.; cf. Diakonoff 1991, 15; see above 2.1.1.1, 2.1.4 and below, 3; all the names of the states are in the gentile form; figures in brackets refer to lines in Grayson 1996, 186: Šamsi-Adad V, A.6.103.1, iii, 45ff.; attribution to Parsua tentative)

2.3.1. Babaruru

1. *Si-ra-šû-na* ^{ba}*Ba-ba-ru-ra-A+A* (45).

2.3.2. Hurrišandu

1. *A-na-PAR* ^{ba}*HAR-ur-šû-ur-du-ur-A+A* (45f.).

2.3.3. Parsana

1. *Za-ri-šû* (Olan.) ^{ba}*Pa-ra-na-ri-A+A* (46; Olan.).

2.3.4. Kipabarutaku

1. *So-na-šû* ^{ba}*Ki-ri-na-ba-ur-ta-ka-A+A* (47f.).

2.3.5. Uštašša

1. *Ar-da-ra-a* (Olan.) ^{ba}*Uš-ta-šša-A+A* (48f.).

2.3.6. Giugibir

1. *Ta-a-ta-a* (Olan./atyp.) ^{ba}*Gi-in-gi-bi-A+A* (50).

2.3.7. Arima

1. *Bi-si-ra-in* ^{ba}*Ar-i-ma-A+A* (51).

Arimeans (^{ba}*Ar-i-ma-A+A*) are mentioned 320–360 years later in documents from the archive of the Egibi sons who were based in Babylon. A promissory note for 7.33 minas of silver (creditor Nabû-šum-lîšir s. of Taboea descendant of Épeš-ili; debtor Marduk-nâšir-apli s. of Itti-Marduk-balâpu descendant of Egibi) has at least 12 witnesses (eight with Akkadian names of whom several have surnames), the sixth-ninth witnesses are:

A-ta-ri-ba-na-a-ni, [Kin?]-*ri-tak-ki* ^{ba}*Ar-i-ba-na-A+A*, *So-si-šû-ka* [x]-*ua-šû-man-an* ^{ba}*Ar-i-ba-na-A+A* (BM 31530 = Berlin 2805, r. 4f.; the witnesses' list is damaged so it is impossible to establish the exact order of the witnesses with Akkadian names); 15.XII. — Darius I (presumably in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. when Marduk-nâšir-apli was active). — In Strassmaier 1897, 458 and duplicate BM 30856 (Berlin 2799) *Me-e-gi-bar-naš-šû* ^{ba}*im-bu-ku-A+A* is the creditor and Širku s. of Iddina descendant of Egibi the debtor. The debt is to be repaid to *Me-en-na* the messenger of *Me-e-gi-bar-naš-šû*. The first witness and the last two witnesses (fifth and sixth) are *Uš-ka*, *U-ma-ur-ca-na* and *Ka-šû-šû* ^{ba}*im-bu-ku-A+A*. They are preceded by a Choresmian (Hud) and *Sa-ak-ki-ri* ^{ba}*Gi-ma-ra-A+A* ('Clomerman'), i.e. Seythian; fourth); only the second witness bears an Akkadian name with a surname (Babylon, 23.XI.505/4 B.C.).

BM 30818 (= Berlin 2837, [Š]u-ur-pa-lu, ~VII. Darius I) lists several witnesses with a mixture of Iranian and pre-Iranian names, like those of the ĩub/pukeans. — The sixth-tenth witnesses of BM 30877 (= Berlin 2773; Huzisti-ša-Bel-šir, 17.XIIa. Darius I) are ĩubukeans (^{ba}*im-bu-ku-ri-A+A*), viz. *Sa-as-šû-šû*, *Me-e-ga-ur-ba-na-š-šû*, *Ka-ne-šû*, *Me-na*, and *B/Pa-ri-ri-qi* (tenth = last witness). They are listed after four witnesses with Akkadian names, Akkadian fathers' names and surnames and a fifth witness bearing an Akkadian name and an Akkadian father's name (see Eilers 1940, 213–19).

2.3.8. Wila

^{ba}*Uš-ta-A+A* (53). It may be homonymous — if not identical — with Ur III *Pi-šû* (Sigrist 1984, 4, 10). 1. *Ša-pa-šû-ta-ri-ni*, Olan.

2.3.9. Kingšitēnash

1. *A-ua-ma-šû* ^{ba}*Ki-ri-gi-šû-ri-le-ur-ca-ah-A+A* (53; Kass.).

2.3.10. Masirnaš

1. *Has/TAR-si-šû*, Kass.? ^{ba}*Ma-šû-ur-šû-A+A* (54; Hur.-Urat.?).

2.3.11. Luksa

1. *Mo-ma-ur-šû* ^{ba}*Lu-uk-šû-A+A* (55).

2.3.12. Dinama

1. *Za-an-šar* ^{ba}*Di-na-ma-A+A* (55; both atyp.).

2.3.13. Singuri

1. *Si-ra-šû* ^{ba}*Si-ri-gi-ri-A+A* (56).

2.3.14. Abdann

1. *Gi-šû-ta* ^{ba}*Ab-da-na-A+A* (57) — haplography for *Abdanna*?

2.3.15. Asaš

1. *A-da-da-ur* (prob. Olan.) ^{ba}*A-da-ur-A+A* (57).

2.3.16. Cirzina

2.3.16.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONY
^{ba}*Gi-ri-na-A+A* (59), cf. 1. ^{ba}*Gi-ri-ni-ia* (Tadmor 1994, 106:St. II, B.31), which is followed by 2. ^{ba}*Sad-bat* and 3. ^{ba}*Sa-sa-šû-A+A*. These towns probably formed one political-economic entity as the 120 horses taken by Tiglath-pileser III in 737 B.C. were delivered by these towns together.

2.3.16.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOONY

1. *Ba-a-ra*, Olan.

2.3.17. Kindutagi

1. *A-ri-a* (Olan.) ^{ba}*Ki-ri-šû-ur-šû-A+A* (59).

2.3.18. Dag(?)ri

1. *Ki-ri-na-šû-šû* ^{ba}*Dag(?)-ri-ni-A+A* (60).

2.3.19. Zuzarura

1. *Za-ba-na* ^{ba}*Za-ra-ur-A+A* (61).

2.3.20. Gindirda

1. *Ir-ti-šû-ri* (Olan.) ^{ba}*Gi-in-gi-ri-A+A* (61).

2.3.21. Naotun

1. *Ši-ri-a*, (atyp.) ^{ba}*Nu-ni-tun-A+A* (63).

2.4. Adjacent regions

^{ba}*Za-ri-pa-A+A* (gent.) is included in a report of a messenger from Parsua to Sargon II. Nikur and hošile Menen are also recorded in the same source (Harper 1892:1914, 165; Her.?).

2.5. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponomy (29 = 100%)

(a) Old Iranian (= 27.58%; all from the end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.): *Ar-da-ra-a* (2.3.5, 1; see Schmitt [and Talon] 1998); *A-ri-a* (2.3.17, 1) < **Arva-* (see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998f, cf. Schellenskiwiz 1905, 275); ^{ba}*Ša-pa-šû-ta-ri-ni* (2.3.8, 1; see [Radner

1995-96, 246f.), but Reade (1979, 178) proposes to locate Hubuska 'in the Ushnu-Rowanduz-Pizder-Mahabid quadrangle' (see in more general terms Kimmer Wilson 1962, 108ff.). He is followed by Lanfranchi (1995, *passim*, esp. 137; cf. Liebig 1991, 33f.), but Medvedskaya (1997) vigorously advocates a location in the Hakkāri region. ¹⁰*Ha-hu-tu-ki-a* is defined as capital of Nairi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 306f.). ¹¹*Si-ta-ia* was a fortress of Hubuska (Grayson 1996, 21; Shalm. III A.O.102.2, ii. 64).

3.7.1.2. PROPOGANDY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. *A-pa-a* king of Hubuska, sometime between 890 and 884 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 180; Tukulti-Ninurta II A.O.100.6, 4, atyp.; 2. *Ka-a-ki, Ka-ki-a* of Hubuska, c. 857-852 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 8ff.; Shalm. III A.O.102.1, ii. 23 and A.O.102.2, ii. 20 resp.); atyp.; 3. *Da-ta-a* king of Hubuska, 829-c. 819 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 82ff.; A.O.102.14, 161; 16, 296; *Da-ta-a* of Hubuska (Grayson 1996, 70; Shalm. III A.O.102.14, 177), *Da-di-i* of the Hubuska (Grayson 1996, 184; Šamsi-Adad V A.O.103.1, ii. 37; see Fuchs [and Schwitt] 1998a), Olran.; 4. *Ja-an-zu-a*, king of Hubuska, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 306; Kass. see Brinkman 1976-80). It is doubtful whether [*Ur-ma-ak-hi-n*], *Ja-ni*, [cacc] and [*A-ti-a-ia-d-i*], who are mentioned in a damaged letter from Hubuska (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 196, 7, 9, 11), actually originated from there.

3.7.2. Places near Hubuska

1. ¹²*Na-ra-A-A* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 11 x, 5); gent., not far from Hubuska; 2. *Al-hi-ri-i* — a mountain between Hibuška and Mušāšir (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 324); 3. ¹³*Na-ni-su* (Hurt.) was presumably in the Pizder valley (see Lanfranchi 1995, 136f.). It seems to be the precursor of the hypothetical centre of the region Ašurruy, which Hoffmann (1886, 249) sought in Rowanduz-Sidek, i.e. more to the west (cf. Medvedskaya 1997, 205).

3.8. Madahisū/Mufaisa

On the way from Hubuska to Mannea (cf. Streck 1899, 165-6; Lanfranchi 1995, 135); gent., ¹⁴*Ma-da-hi-sa-A-A*, [¹⁵*Ma-hi-sa*]-*hi-sa*]-*A-A*.

1. *Ma-ag-du-bi* ¹⁶*Ma-da-hi-sa-A-A*, 829 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 70; Shalm. III A.O.102.14, 163 (in 82; A.O.102.16, 299; [¹⁷*Ma-hi-sa*]-*hi-sa*]-*A-A*).

3.9. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponym (15 = 100%)

(a) Old Iranian (5 = 33.33%). 829-c. 819 B.C.; *Da-ta-a*, *Da-ta-a*, *Da-di-i* (3.7.1, 3, see [Fuchs and Schwitt] 1998a); 714 B.C.: *Ur-zu-na-a*, *Ur-zu-an*); *Ur-zu* (a-ni) (3.4.2; ¹⁸*Ur-zu-na-a*, see Grantovsky 1970, 298ff.; 64, cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 275); — 711 B.C.: *As-pa-ba-ba* (3.6, 1); — *Esarhaddon's* time; *B-pa-ka-A-A* (3.1.2, 1, see Diakonoff 1956a, 245f. with n. 5); *Bar/Pā-to-na* (3.1.2, 2; see [Fuchs and Schwitt] 1998a); — (b) Kassite (1 = 6.66%); *Ja-an-zu-a* (3.7.1, 4, originally a title); — (c) Atyptical (5 = 33.33%); *Šu-ai-a*, *As-su-a*, *As-su-a* (3.2, 2) and 3.5, 1, 3.7.1, 1, 2 — too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation; — (d) Unaffiliated (4 = 26.66%); 3.1.3.2, 1; 3.5, 2, 3; 3.8, 1. (e) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 6 = 40%; 744-705: 4 = 26.66%; 704-600: 5 = 33.33%; — Ethno-linguistic classification: 1000-745 (6 = 100%); Old Iranian 1 (16.66%); atypical 4 (66.66%); unaffiliated 1 (16.66%); 744-705 (4 = 100%); Old Iranian 2 (50%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (25%); unaffiliated 1 (25%); 704-600 (5 = 100%); Old Iranian 2 (40%); atypical 1 (20%); unaffiliated 2 (40%).

3.10. Linguistic analysis of the toponym (53 = 100%; 3.3, 15, 20, 21, 26, 27 are not counted)

(a) Pre-first millennium (1 = 1.88%); *Ka-ak-me-el-mi-i* (3.6) — *Ka-ak-me* is recorded as an anthroponym at OB Susānā (Eidem 1992, 118, 51¹⁹). (b) Old Iranian (3 = 5.66%); *Ra-ma-da-in* (3.1.1, 3) < ²⁰*Rāma-dāna* (Zadok 1979a, 301-5, but it is to be rendered as 'residing-place, retreat'; for *dāna*: cf. Eilers 1954, 334, n. 130). Regarding *Sa-ar-gi-bu-ke* (3.3), the spellings with *Sar/Su-* for the homonymous region *Sa-ar-gi-bu-ke* (3.3) does not preclude the Old Iranian etymology ²¹*Ustargavati* (see Herzfeld 1938, 173; Eilers 1954, 282 with n. 109; Grantovsky 1970, 229f.; and 4.12, 4

below) as both are *CVC* signs which are indifferent to vowel quality. It is doubtful whether *Sa-ar-gi* [-i] refers to any of the regions; 3.1.1. (c) Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian (1 = 1.88%); *Ar-za-bi-a* (3.3, 7) may be Old Iranian according to Grantovsky (1970, 291ff. 63), but Diakonoff (1985b, 602b) considers the possibility that the word for "eagle" is originally Hurro-Urartian. The anthroponym *Ar-za-bi-i* (cf. Kessler 1998a), which may have the same base, is hardly Iranian; (d) Kassite. Just possible (1 = 1.88%); *Is-ka-da-ra* (3.1.3, 5) may be a gentile of *Ishtar* (Balkan 1954, 78); — Doubtful (2 = 3.77%); *Sa-hi* (3.5; cf. Balkan 1954, 114), but the name is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation; *Ta-ai-l*; *Ta-ma-ki-su* (3.3, 4) is thought to be Iranian by Grantovsky (1970, 280, 61f.). However, *Ta-ai* resembles the first component of the Kassite anthroponym *Ta-ai-Sa-hi* (cf. Balkan 1954, 84, 183); — (e) Hurro-Urartian (2 = 3.77%); *Sa-ra-di-hu-ra*, *U-hu* (3.3, 5, 6, cf. Grantovsky 1970, 276); — Doubtful (10 = 18.86%); Is *Gil/Kil/Kir/Hab-zu-m* (3.2) possible for a Hurr. *kēl* (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 223)? (with *z*, NA has only ²²*As-za-an* for *Asina*, Parpola 1970, 20); *Si-ta-na-er-za* (3.3, 2) — for *a* cf. ²³*As-za-an-za* (3.3, 12) and ²⁴*As-za-an-za*, ²⁵*As-za-an-za* of Ašād, where ²⁶*As-za-an* is recorded as well (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 281ff.). Does the anthroponym [*Ja-az-za-an-za*] (Fales and Postgate 1991, 10, i, 6) end in this element as well? *Šir-za-al-di-i* (3.3, 28) may end in *Hakk*. *As-su* (3.7.2, 3) may be homonymous with the anthroponym *As-su* from OB Alalah (Wiseman 1959, 28:269, 58; cf. also *As-su-ki-ba-ba*, *As-su-ki-ba-ni-pi*, Durand 1997, 643 with n. 581); *Da-ka-A-A* (3.3, 2), cf. perhaps the anthroponym *Ta-le-ka* from MB Nuzi (Gelb et al. 1943, 262a) on the one hand and Ur III *Da-ta-inu* (Hilgert 1998, 304, obv. i, 26) on the other. For *As-ta-inu* (3.4.1, 3) cf. [*as-tu*] which is common in Hurro-Urartian toponymy MA ²⁷*As-ta-inu* (Nashef 1982, 11; prob. on the Greater Zab). *Ši-ta-la* (3.7.1, 1) is apparently based on *šit* (cf. Neir 1996, 62 with n. 12); 3.3, 16, 29; — (f) Atyptical (1 = 1.88%); *Is-ka* (3.3, 1) is not necessarily Iranian as understood by Grantovsky (1970, 280) seeing that it is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation, the more so in view of the occurrence of the name-component *-ba* (10) in the early NA toponym *Ti-ba* referring to a place in northeastern Babylonia, a region without any Iranian toponyms; — (g) Akkadian-West Semitic (1 = 1.88%); 3.7.2, 1. (h) Hybrid (Akkadian and neo-Semitic: 1 = 1.88%); 3.3, 18 (not a genuine hybrid, cf. above); (i)

Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated (11 = 20.75%); ²⁸*As-ta-inu* (3.3, 3) is not necessarily Iranian as understood by Grantovsky 1970, 279. For *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 30 as well, for a different segmentation, viz. *Ki-ta-dāna*, see Balkan 1954, 192) cf. ²⁹*As-ta-inu* of Uruk (Tadmor 1994, 148; Summa 5, ii, 15); *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 29) is actually homonymous with ³⁰*As-ta-inu*, a town which was presumably situated between Uruk and Dūr-Sarrā-ukīn (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 288, 6; *a* > *i* is recorded in NA). Both settlements were in the Hurro-Urartian regions. *As-ta-inu* (3.1.1, 4) is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation. *As-ta-inu* is potentially Hurrian (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 205a) and is possibly pre-Iranian in view of *As-ta-inu* (*As-ta-inu*) from OB Susānā (Eidem 1992, 88a with refs.). *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 14, 19; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 283ff.) can be quasi-homonymous with the mountain *As-ta-inu* (*As-ta-inu*) in the Hurrian myth of Kurnabi (poss. related to Hurri, *kurnabi* according to Otter (1976-80); *As-ta-inu* (3.1.1, 1) may be compared with the female names *As-ta-inu* (see Durand 1997, 610, n. 166 ad Durand 1983, 664 ad 407, ii, 9) and MB *As-ta-inu* (*As-ta-inu*) from Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 89b; female names based on *As-ta-inu* not infrequent at MB Nuzi, cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 229a); *As-ta-inu* (*As-ta-inu* (3.3, 7, 8), is *As-ta-inu* (3.4.1, 1) linguistically related to the anthroponym *As-ta-inu* from OB Susānā (Eidem 1992, 100a with refs.); *As-ta-inu* (3.7.2, 2) with a homonymous river *As-ta-inu* (cf. the MB anthroponym *As-ta-inu* (cf. *As-ta-inu*) from Tall Imbīyā (Kessler 1982, 77f.; 9, 4); *As-ta-inu* (3.4) is hardly Semitic (pace Astour 1987, 22, n. 133); the name of the Zannan ruler *As-ta-inu* (below 8.9.2.2, 1) seems linguistically related; (j) Unaffiliated and isolated (19 = 35.84%); *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 10) renders ³¹*As-ta-inu* according to Grantovsky (1970, 296). However, Western Old Iranian has *As-ta-inu*. Only much later was Avestan *As-ta-inu* adopted as a kened word in Western Middle Iranian. *As-ta-inu* (*As-ta-inu*) [*As-ta-inu*]-*As-ta-inu* (3.8) is apparently with *As-ta-inu* interchange. The toponym is not Iranian (for such an interchange in Iranian see Eilers 1954, 322, 350, 361; 1956, 215). *As-ta-inu* (3.7.1) the segmentation implied by Astour 1987, 27, n. 176 is very uncertain; *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 31; see Salvini 1982, 387f.); *As-ta-inu* (3.3, 17, cf. Zadok 1976b, 120, 126); 3.1.3, 2, 3.1.3, 1, 3.1.3, 1, 3, 13, 23-25, 3.4.1, 2. (k) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 13 = 24.52%; 744-705: 33 = 62.26%; 704-600: 7 = 13.2%. Ethno-

respectively (time of Esarhaddon). Vallat (1993, exxviii ff.) advocates a location of 5.1 in Khorasan, 5.1.1, 2 in Badakhsan and 5.3 in or near the Pamir.

5.1. *Paṣāwā*

5.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Pa-ā-wā-nā-ar-ra-ī* (Oltan) bordering on the 2. Salt Desert (*bi-jāna*, *É MUR*) and 3. *bi-gā-kā-nān*. The latter (also Tadmor 1994, 295, index, s.v.) is hardly the forerunner of *Afšarvā* of Ptolemy (*space Vera* Chamaia 1994, 110; for a plausible localisation of *Afšarvā*, see Andreas 1893, who is followed by Herzfeld 1938, 175f.; cf. Eilers 1954, 339f., n. 147). *Bi-gān* may be identical with modern Alvand according to Levine 1974, 118f., but if the identity of Ramānā with modern Rānānā is correct, then a more easterly location beyond the Alvand for *Bi-gān* (such as Donavand, see Winkler 1889, 1, xxvii, n. 3; cf. Billerbeck 1898, 93f.; Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1) is required.

5.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *E-pa-ar-na-ni* (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998a) is mentioned together with 2. *Si-dīr-pa-ar-na-ni* (both Oltan) or alone (*E-pa-ā-wā*, Starr 1990, 64, 10).

5.2. *Urkāzūhama* (east of Arasān, see Billerbeck 1898, 76)

1. *Ra-na-ta-na* (Oltan) city lord of *U-ra-(a)-ka-a-bar-na* (Borger 1956, 54; Nūn, A, iv, 34); *Ra-na-ta-a-a* city lord of *U-ra-ka-a-bar-na* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108).

5.3. *Parākkā*

Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka, *Pa-ar-ra-wik-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nūn, A, iv, 33; Oltan).

1. *Up-pi-ī* (Oltan?) city lord of *Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nūn, A, iv, 32; cf. 111; Fr. E, obv. 3; [...] city lord of *Pa-ar-nik* (text: *Nā ka*).

2. *Za-na-sa-ni* (Borger 1956, 54; Nūn, A, iv, 33; Oltan?) city lord of *Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka*.

5.4. *Other districts (time of Tiglath-pileser III)*

5.4.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Uš-gag-qa-a-na* (Oltan) and 2. *Si-ik-ka-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ, 7, 32). The latter may be identical with *Si-ik-ka-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 106; Si, II, B, 42?) seeing that according to the photograph (pl. 37), there is enough room to restore [-ka] on the edge and near it. Cf. perhaps Old Elam. *Si-ik-ka* [...] (Farber 1975, 81, 83f., r. iii, 25; Vallat 1993, 241, s.v.). 3. *Uš-ik-ka-ak-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 166; Summ, 7, 37) is recorded in the same summary inscription before Bit-Rur, Šibur, Ariamā, Māt-tarlugallē, and Šilhazī — a list of places where Tiglath-pileser III erected his royal image. All these places — except for Šilhazī — are to be sought in Inner Media. The same may apply to Tīkrakī. The latter was regarded as a variant of *Si-ik-ka-ki* (see Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107 in *face*; Granovsky 1970, 241ff.), but they are not necessarily identical according to Tadmor 1994, 166 *ad loc.*

5.4.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

[...] *Si-ik-ka-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 106; Si, II, B, 42?).

5.5. *Perhaps in this region or more to the west*

5.5.1. *Andarpatānu*

Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni is mentioned together with the Salt Desert in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 5; no clear geographical context, see Streck 1906, 358f.; Vera Chamaia 1994, 110, n. 283 in *face*). Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2) makes the unfounded statement 'not far from Qazvin'.

1. *Ma-šā-dak-ki* of *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2; 2. *Pa-ā-ka-ki* (text: *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi, h.25).

5.5.2. *Karziṭali* (time of Esarhaddon)

Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; *Karziṭali* [...], *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* [...]) (pass. Russ.) is mentioned after the Salt Desert and before *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* (of Parākkā, 5.1.2 above) in the damaged text Starr 1990, 64. Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2; 108) was of the opinion

that Karziṭali was apparently near Šibur and might have belonged to the province of Bāhar (without foundation). 1. *Bi-dā-dī* city lord of Kar-zi-ta-li (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28; cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a, 2). It is also mentioned together with the Salt Desert, Andarpatānu and Bit-Tar[...]. In a damaged text (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

5.5.3. *Bit-Tar[...]*

Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni is mentioned together with the Salt Desert and Andarpatānu in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

5.6. *Linguistic analysis of the anthroponym* (8 = 100%; 5.4.2 is not counted)

(a) *Old Iranica* (5 = 62.5%): 714 B.C.: *Ma-šā-dak-ki* (5.5.1, 1, see below, 7.1.6) - Esarhaddon's time: *E-pa-ar-na-ni*, *E-pa-ā-wā* (5.1.2, 1; see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a), *Si-dīr-pa-ar-na-ni* (5.1.2, 2) < *Si-dīr-far-ni* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 261; cf. Schmitt 1992b); *Ra-na-ta-na*, *Ra-na-ta-a-a* (5.2, 1) < **Rāna-ta(n)-na* in view of the variant *Ramāta* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3), but the reconstruction of the second component is not certain in view of spellings such as *Ra-na-ta-na*, *Ra-na-ta-na* (7.6.2, 4 below), *Pa-ā-ka-ki* (5.5.2, 1) cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a, 2) - *Doubtful* (2 = 25%): *Za-na-sa-na* (5.3, 2) < **Zana-sa-na*? (cf. Scheffelowitz 1995, 276; Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3 for non-Iran. with reduplicated syllables and dissimilation of sibilants?); *Up-pi-ī* (5.3, 1, see Granovsky 1970, 237f.). (b) *Unaffiliated* (with a reduplicated syllable): 1 = 12.5%: 5.5.1, 2. (c) *Summary*: Chronological distribution: 744-705: 2 = 25%; 704-600: 6 = 75%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (2 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (50%); unaffiliated 1 (50%). 704-600 (6 = 100%): Old Iranian 4 (66.66%); Old Iranian? (23.33%).

5.7. *Linguistic analysis of the toponymy* (11 = 100%)

(a) *Pre-first millennium?* 1 (0.09%): *Si-ik-ka-ki* (5.4.1, 2) if Old Elam. *Si-ik-ka* [...] is a precursor thereof. (b) *Old Iranian* (3 = 27.27%): *Pa-ā-wā* (5.1.1, 1) < **Pāwā(h)wā* - see Scheffelowitz

1995, 274; Eilers 1971); *Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka*, *Pa-ar-wik-ka* (5.3; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 263; apparently the same toponym as the CVC signs *TA/TUK* are indifferent to vowel quality) - cf. [...] *Pa-ar-ta-ka-ni* (6.9.3.57); *Uš-gag-qa-a-na* (5.4.1, 1, see Zadok 1979a, 201.7); *Doubtful* (2 = 18.18%); *Bi-gā-kā-nān* (5.1.1, 3) < **Bīgān* - 7 (see Hüsing 1900, 127; for other suggestions see Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1 in *face*); *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* (5.4.1, 3) is not identical with *ŠRT* *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*, then it would be homonymous with *RAE* *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* (Vallat 1993, 279, s.v. *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*), see Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1633). (c) *Old Iranian* or *atypical* (originally an anthroponym; 1 = 9.09%): Possibly *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* (5.5.3, 1) correctly restored). (d) *Kassite* (1 = 9.09%): *Ka-zi-ta-na* (5.5.2) seems to contain the Kassite element *ka-zi* (Balkan 1954.61, cf. Heitscher 1996, 118f.). However *-na* is poorly documented, cf. perhaps *Ki-ta-na* (Gelb et al. 1943, 262a); *kīp* is extant not only in Hurrian names, but perhaps also in names from Mari and Gasur (see Gelb et al. 1943, 272b). (e) *Kassite* or *Hurro-Urartian* (1 = 9.09%): *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*, *Andar-pa-ā-ni* (5.5.1; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2) may contain *andar* (cf. Hur. *andar*, Gelb et al. 1943, 201a; Balkan 1954, 153 has only *-andar*, but the interchange *a-i* is recorded in NA). (f) *Akkadian* (1 = 9.09%): *Bi-gān* (5.1.1, 2) is merely a generic term. (g) *Unaffiliated and isolated* (1 = 9.09%): *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni*, *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* (5.2) was etymologised as **Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* by Herzfeld 1938, 170 (cf. Hinz 1975, 271) with a far-fetched conclusion regarding its localisation (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108), but *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* cannot render **Uš-ān*, and the reconstruction of *Uš-ān-dīr-pa-ā-ni* is questionable. The name is more likely non-Iranian. (h) *Summary*. Chronological distribution: 744-705: 6 = 54.54%; 704-600: 5 = 45.45%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (6 = 100%): Pre-first millennium? 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian? 2 (33.33%); Kassite/Hurrian 1 (16.66%); Akkadian 1 (16.66%). 704-600 (5 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 (40%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (20%); possibly Kassite 1 (16.66%); unaffiliated 1 (20%).

6. "INNER" MEDIA

(in contradistinction to Syro-media, cf. Forrer 1921, 93f.; Diakonoff 1956a, 339; a rather vague term, including also geographically unspecified locales)

6.1. The section of Sargon II's itinerary basically between B-Pustus and Bit-Kapsi (see Zadok 2000a)

Sargon II's stages after B-Pustus are:

Dalumbu → Kuzinū → Pimākūn (received the tribute of Barikānu and Ku[š]i) → Sakū (received the tribute of Harziānu and Kaitānu) → Danue river → Rūmānda → Irmiša (where he also received the tribute of Bit-Kapsi; pacification of Ayalaiā). It can be argued that *ba-pa-na-ka-an* included two political entities, whose capitals were *ba-ri-ka-nu* and *ka-ri-ri* (Levine 1972, ii, 61). The same may apply to *ba-sa-ka-an*, where Sargon II received the tribute of another two polities, viz. *ba-sa-ka-an* and *ka-ri-ri* (Levine 1972, ii, 62).

6.1.1. Dalumbu and Kanzakabani

6.1.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *ba-da-ni-nu-bu* is followed by 2. *ba-ka-ar-[za-b]a-[ka-ni]*, *ba-ka-ar-ba-ka-ni* (Levine 1972, ii, 58, 60), 716 B.C. Was the former the name of the region and the latter its capital? The latter is also recorded in 714 (*ba-ka-ar-ba-ka-ni*, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47) and 711 B.C. (*ba-ka[ni]* [ca. *ab-ka-ni*?], Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 27).

6.1.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

ba-sa-ka, 716 (Levine 1972, ii, 60) – 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 27), Olan.

6.1.2. Kuzinū

6.1.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *ba-ka-zi-ni-mi* (identical with *ka-zi-na*), see below, 6.11) is followed by 2. *ba-pir-na-ka-an* (Levine 1972, ii, 60f; Vallat 1993, 43, s.v. seems to identify it with *ba-ri-ka-nu*, which is unacceptable).

6.1.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *ba-sa-ri-ni* city lord of *ba-ka-zi-ni-mi*, 714–711 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48; Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 33; *ba-ri-sar*), Olan.

6.1.3. Barikānu

6.1.3.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *ba-ri-ka-nu* (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 34) may be synonymous with the hypothetical Old Iranian source of the toponym *Barikānu* (Παρκάβου, referring to tribes in two opposite borderlands within

the Iranian-speaking continuum) and the toponym Παρκάβου (in eastern Persis or Carmania, poss. mid. Pers. *Barikān*, see for both names Junge 1949), NA <ba> renders /pa-/ as well. In this case we may have a homonymy referring to a locale in the heartland of Iran. *ba-ri-ka-nu* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49) is followed by 2. *ba-sa-ka-an* in Levine 1972, ii, 61f. The latter is not the same as *ba-sa-ka-ka* of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, 76; Ann. 5, 4), which was not in Iran.

6.1.3.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *sa-tar-ba-nu*, 716–711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 61); *sa-tar-pu-nu* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49; [Sa]-tar-pa-nu (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 34; Olan.), ruler of Barikānu.

6.1.4. Ka[š]i[ri]

1. *Up-pa-[x]* of *ba-ka-ri*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 61).

6.1.5. Harziānu

1. *za-ar-chi-ka-a* of *ba-ha-ar-i-a-ni*, 716–711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 62); *za-ar-chi-ka* (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 29); *za-ar-chi-uk-hu* of *ba-ha-ar-i-a-nu* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49), Olan.

6.1.6. Kaitānu

1. *ba-ri-sa-ka-ni* and 2. *ba-ri-sa-ka-ni*, both city lords of *ba-ka-ri* (Olan.2) in 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 30f; and G. Frame *opud* Fuchs 1998, 41, n. 123 *ad loc.*; *ba-ri-sa-ka-ni* of *ba-ka-ri* [Levine 1972, ii, 62]).

6.1.7. Rūmānda

ba-ra-na-an-da (Levine 1972, ii, 63; Olan.), modern Rūmānd (see Zadok 2000a).

6.1.8. ur[ur]-[x]

1. *ba-ri-[x]*, city lord, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 63).

6.1.9. Arusiā/Irmiša

ba-ri-na-sa (= *ba-ri-na-sa*, see Fuchs 1994, 44b).

1. *ba-ri-pa-sa-ra-a* of *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 64), Olan.

2. *Ar-ba-ku* city lord of *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 32), Olan.

6.1.10. Hul-]

1. *ba-ri-[x]* of *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 64) delivered his tribute in the camp of Sargon II in the land of Irmiša. This is an indication of geographical proximity of Hul-] and Irmiša, but not necessarily of political dependence as may be implied by Fuchs 1998f.

6.1.11. Ayalaiā

1. *ba-ri-na-sa* near the river 2. *Na-x-ka* (Levine 1972, ii, 66).

6.2. Presumably on the way back westwards from Bit-Kapsi

Irmiša → Uratlas (where Sargon II received tribute from [...], [x]bagabta, Karkasā, Ginkir and Rurqu).

6.2.1. Uratlas/us

ba-ri-na-sa, *ba-ri-na-sa* (Levine 1972, ii, 68; Kass.?).

6.2.1.1. TOPONYMS

ba-ri-na-sa presumably is or near Uratlas (Levine 1972, ii, 69).

6.2.1.2. ANTHROPONYMS

1. *ba-ri-na-sa* of *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69; Kass.), Levine (1972, 50 *ad loc.*) states "Burbursu of Uratlas is probably to be identified with Burburazu of Bit Istar". He expresses the unlikely opinion that Uratlas was renamed Bit-Istar (= 6.5 below) by the Assyrians (cf. below, 6.11, b). However, his suggestion was not adopted by Fuchs and Schmidt 1998s, who differentiate between both rulers.

6.2.2. Kisilaha

1. *ba-ri-na-sa* of *ba-ri-na-sa* presumably of [...], in or near Uratlas, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 68, see

Fuchs 1998c); *ba-ri-na-sa* of *ba-ri-na-sa*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46), Olan?

6.2.3. Kār-Kassā/Karkasā

ba-ri-na-sa (Starr 1990, 364f, with refs.) is the same place as *ba-ri-na-sa* (see Sirek 1900, 360, with previous lit., who rendered it as "Wall of the Kassites"; perhaps *Bit-kār* according to Diakonoff 1991, 17, n. 14).

1. *ba-ri-na-sa* of K., 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69); 2. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (see G. Frame *opud* Fuchs 1998a, 41, n. 125 *ad loc.*, 35f; 3. *ba-ri-na-sa* of Karkasā (Esarhaddon's reign; Starr 1990, 363 with refs., Olan., see *ibid.* with n. 25; cf. Fuchs and Schmidt 1998p). There is no proof that the latter ruler was identical with Φαρόπρις of Herodotus (see Ivančič 1993, 30f). Karkasā threatened (refs. are to Starr 1990) Kisei (43), Kāribu (44), Šubara (48), Ušši (49) and Kilman (51).

6.2.4. Ušši

ba-ri-na-sa (Starr 1990, 49 n. 3) was sieged by Karkasā/Xsētrā. cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 104f, 106f. Cf. perhaps 1. *ba-ri-na-sa* of *ba-ri-na-sa* [x] (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48; *ba-ri-na-sa*) according to the edition of Mayer 1983, 72).

6.2.5. Ginkir (= Ginkir?)

ba-ri-na-sa (Levine (1972, 50 *ad loc.*, ii, 69) compares (but not identifies) it with *ba-ri-na-sa* of Tiglath-pileser III on the way to Bit-Kapsi (cf. above, 6.3 and perhaps modern Gargor near Sanandaj at 35-2 47-19).

1. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (see G. Frame *opud* Fuchs and Schmidt 1998s, 354, 2 *in fine*, Kass.).

6.2.6. *ba-ri-na-sa*

1. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69).

6.3. On the way to Bit-Kapsi (near Bit-Istar)

1. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69). 2. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69). 3. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69). 4. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69). 5. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69). 6. *ba-ri-na-sa*, 711 B.C. (Levine 1972, ii, 69).

gīra-a) 7. ¹⁰⁰Ki-āi-ma-āi-ha-āi (737 B.C.; Tadmor 1994, 70; Ann. 14, 7).

6.4. Mentioned together with Bit-Kapsi

1. ¹⁰⁰Bi-ē-āi-zak-ki (Tadmor 1994, 296 with refs.; Orlan). 2. ¹⁰⁰Bi-ē-āi-Sa-ma-gi (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Orlan) is neither the same as ¹⁰⁰Bi-Sā-ki (7.1.1, 3 below; pace Diakonoff 1956a, 160, n. 4) nor is it identical with Bit-Sangibuti (see below, 7.3).

6.5. Bit-Israr and environs

6.5.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

¹⁰⁰Bi-ē-āi-Israr (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46, see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is not mentioned in ME 'together with Bit-Tazzaki' (pace Diakonoff 1978, 64, who followed Köhlig 1965, 129, n. 9). ME has ¹⁰⁰Bi-ta-zak-riš-EŠŠANA (Vallat 1993, 49, s.v. *Bi-Tasak-darrā*), which has nothing to do with *Bi-ta-zak-ki*; the latter can be read ¹⁰⁰Bi-ē-āi-Israr-zak-ki (6.4.1 above).

6.5.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

Bi-ta-zak-riš of Bit-Israr, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46), poss. Kass.

6.5.3. Sagbita

¹⁰⁰Sag-bi-ta on the way from Gizilepunda (Sibar) to Arasini was the capital of 1. *Ha-nu-si-ri-ku* (no *Personelement*?) the Mede (¹⁰⁰Ma-ta-ā-ā; end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.; Grayson 1996, 185f.; Šamši-Adad V A.O.103.1. iii, 32). This capital is not necessarily identical with *Bi-ē-āi-sa-gi-bi-ta* (despite Streck 1900, 330), which reflects a different form.

6.6. Amate and environs

1. *La-bi-šic-āi-āi-ra* (737 B.C.; Tadmor 1994, 72 ad Ann. 15, 5; after a lacuna it is reported in line 6 that [L?] escaped to ¹⁰⁰Ma-ta-ā, a district opposite the Ru-ā-a mountains) — same name as *la-bi-šic-āi* of ¹⁰⁰Ar-Imar (Tadmor 1994, 107 ad St. II B, 33').

6.6.1. Toponymy

¹⁰⁰Ru-āi-āi-Ru-āi-āi (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Orlan/utyp).

6.7. Localisation and attributions to this region narrative

6.7.1. Niššā

¹⁰⁰Ni-šā-ā-ā-ā (Tadmor 1994, 132 ad Summ. 3, 7' and 164 Summ. 7, 30 resp.). Niššārov *niššārov*, was possibly northeast of Ecbatana (cf. Streck 1900, 332; Hanslik 1936; Orlan). A more specific localisation viz. with Dastabā, was suggested by Schwarz (1910–36, 5, 554f.; with many homonymous places, cf. Eilers 1987, 65, 70 on the one hand and Bailey 1975, 309f. on the other), but Diakonoff and Kashtai 1979, 57 advocate an identification with Missi (Messi). Like Niššārov *niššārov*, Missi was famous for its horses ('Missan', ¹⁰⁰Ma-sa-ā-ā-ā, e.g., Kataja and Whiting 1995, 88 r. 9; 90, 9.12.23; 104, r. 2.6. 109, 8.15. r. 5). However, this is hardly a valid criterion for an identification, as several regions of Greater Media supplied horses; for instance, Kushiite horses from ¹⁰⁰Par-si-ā are mentioned in Kataja and Whiting 1995, 104, 8.

6.7.2. Urem-āzan

¹⁰⁰U-re-ān-za-an, ¹⁰⁰U-re-ān-za-an (Tadmor 1994, 164 Summ. 7, 30 and 132 Summ. 3, 7' resp.; Orlan.?)

6.7.3. Ra'usan

¹⁰⁰Ra-āi-sa-an (Orlan.?) may belong here if the sequence Špūr, Urem-āzan, Ra'usan in the Summary inscription Tadmor 1994, 164 Summ. 7, 30 is significant.

6.7.4. Išteuppa

¹⁰⁰Is-te-up-pu (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 18) is perhaps homonymous with ¹⁰⁰Is-te-ip-pa of Zig/šiqirtu (above, 1.5.1, 5; see Levine 1977a, 141). It is not clear whether it is identical with ¹⁰⁰Is-ta-hip, which is recorded in a damaged letter (Parpola 1987, 32, 8) dealing with Urartu and mentioning a Mannean emissary (cf. Soggs 1958, 199 ad ND 2608 = NL 46).

1. *Is-te-sa-ka* of ¹⁰⁰Is-te-up-pu, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 18).

6.7.5. Gizirikissi/Nikisi

¹⁰⁰Ni-ki-si is perhaps the same as ¹⁰⁰Giz-ri-ki-šik/Giz-ri-ki-šik (Tadmor 1994, 132; Summ. 3, 7'; 164: 7, 30; cf. 297 bottom, index s.v.) according to Tadmor 1994, 166 ad St. II, B, 32'. The latter is definitely non-Iranian (Zadok 1979a, 300–4) and (pace Streck 1900, 332), probably not identical with the later Gā(ō)zaka (OSyr. *Gāz/gā*, Jewish Aram. *Gāz*, Arab. *Gāz* or *Kāzān*) in Atropatene (modern Taht-e Soleiman southeast of Maragheh, see Weissboch 1910), which is an Iranian toponym.

1. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Ni-ki-si (737 B.C.), Orlan.

6.7.6. Kāribtu

¹⁰⁰Ka-ri-bu (Starr 1990, 44 = Ivantchik 1993, 224f. 28; Esarhaddon's time). The fact that Kāribtu was threatened by Kašānili of Kār-Kāšā and its Akkadian name may favour a location somewhere in western Media.

6.8. Unspecified Median rulers

Media (¹⁰⁰Ma-da-ā-ā-ā, see Fuchs 1994, 444f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 103ff.).

¹⁰⁰Ma-da-ā-ā-ā (Grayson 1996, 68; Shalm. III A.O.102.14, 121; see Granovsky 1970, 111).

6.8.1. Esarhaddon's reign

Ma-nir-āi-šāi, [*Ma-nir-āi-šāi* ally of Kašānili of Kār-Kāšā (Starr 1990, 41, 4, 7).

6.8.2. Ashurbanipal's reign

Bi-ri-šik-āi-āi-ri city lord of Media, sometime between 663 and 649 B.C. (Borger 1996, 37; B iv, 3; C, iv, 130), Kass.?

6.9. No geographical context (exclusively in lists — cf. the methodological remarks of Levine 1974, 106 — except for 6.9.1.7.2, 6.9.4.2 which are recorded in a letter and a query to Samas respectively)

6.9.1. 737 B.C.

6.9.1.1. QARŠERA

1. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Qar-šā-ri-ra (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 33'), Orlan.

6.9.1.2. KIRKE[...]

1. *Ma-ku* of ¹⁰⁰Ku-āi-āi (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 34') is homonymous with the toponym 6.9.3.1 below.

6.9.1.3. KAZUDZANI

1. *Ro-ma-te-ia* of ¹⁰⁰Ka-āi-āi-āi (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 36'), Orlan.

6.9.1.4. MISTA

1. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Mi-šā-ri-ra (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 39'), Orlan.

6.9.1.5. WIZAKMA[...]

1. *Ma-ku* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 40').

6.9.1.6. URBA[...]

1. [...] *par-mu-n* (the restoration [*Ša-ri*] is unfounded) of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 41'), Orlan.?

6.9.1.7. ARDURU and BIRTU of ZABZIG

6.9.1.7.1. ZABZIG

1. *Ma-ku* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri (Saggs 1974, 210 and pl. 36; NL 100, 8) is mentioned together with 2. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Zab-zi-qi (hardly for *Eriqili*, cf. Tadmor 1994, 49 ad 12).

6.9.1.7.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

[*Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri], [*Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri], [*Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri], [*Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Uš-ri-ri] (Saggs 1974, 211 ad 12; Baker 1998a), Kass.

6.9.2. 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43ff.; line in brackets)

6.9.2.1. MBLA (KASS.)

1. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Ma-ā-ā-ā (43), Orlan.

6.9.2.2. NAPI

1. *Uš-ri-ri* of ¹⁰⁰Na-ā-ā-ā (44), Orlan.

6.9.3. 711 B.C. (refs. are to Fuchs 1998a)

6.9.3.1. AMAKI

1. *Ma-ku* of ¹⁰⁰Ma-ā-ā-ā (Orlan) of ¹⁰⁰Ma-ā-ā-ā (41, vi.b, 17). The toponym is homonymous with the anthroponym 6.9.1.2.1 above.

6.9.3.2. HA[ST]AKANA

1. [*h*pa-am-ma] from *Ha-[x]-ta-ka'sar-ha* (41, v.b. 16 with n. 118). Olran.

6.9.3.3. J[AN]A

1. *Sisār Kū?Hir-n'a* of *Ha-[x]-sa'n-a-sa* (40, v.b. 15 with n. 117).

6.9.3.4. ZAKASNU

1. [...] of *Za-a-ak-mu* (41, v.b. 35).

6.9.3.5. PARTAKINU

1. [...] of *Pa'-ar-ta-ka-nu* (41, v.b. 37).

6.9.4. In Esarhaddon's reign

6.9.4.1. IZANYI

1. [...] city lord of *Isa-a-A* (Pappola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

6.9.4.2. ASML

Asa-mi (Sass 1990, 63, 3, 5; [...], 10, 11 [bis; once; [...], 13; *Asa*], r. 11, 12, 13) is not Anatol in Hycaria (= Olran: *Asanda*).

6.10. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponyms (33 = 100%; 6.1.4, 1; 6.1.8, 1; 6.1.10, 1; 6.2.6, 1; 6.9.3.3, 1; 6.9.3.4, 1; 6.9.3.5, 1; 6.9.4.1, 1 are not taken into account)

(a) Old Iranian (16 = 48.48%). 737 B.C.: *A-mu-hu* (6.9.1.2, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) is homonymous with the Old Iranian toponym 6.9.3, 1 above. *A-mi-ta-hu* (6.9.1.5, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998c), *Ra-ma-ta-hu* (6.9.1.3, 1, cf. above, 5.6, 2), *U-ta-ta-hu* (6.9.1.4, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247), *U-ta-sar-ta* (6.9.1.1, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 70f., 316-74; cf. Zadok 1976c, 388, n. 14), *U-ta-ru* (6.9.1.5, 1, see Zadok 1996), 716 B.C.: *Si-tir-pa-si-ra* (6.1.9, 1) < **Si-tir-pa-si-ra* (with haploglossy, cf. Zadok 1976c, 388b); 716-711 B.C.: *Sa-tar-ha-pa-nu* (6.1.3.2, 1) < **Sa-tar-ha-pa-nu* (see Schefelowitz 1905, 275; Zadok 1976c, 388, cf. *Sa-tar-pa-nu*, Grantovsky 1970, 68, 71, 74, 309, 316, 323f.; *Za-ar-du-du-ka-a*, *Za-ar-du-du-ka-a* 6.1.5, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 253); *U-ta-ru* (6.1.1.2, 1) < **U-ta-ru* (cf. Zadok 2000a, n. 4); 714 B.C.: *U-ta-ru* (6.9.2.2, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 318-79), *U-ta-ru* (6.9.2.1, 1) < **U-ta-ru* (see

Grantovsky 1970, 236f.-48); 711 B.C.: *Ar-ha-hu* 6.1.9, 21 < **Ar-ha-hu* (see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998c; cf. Schefelowitz 1905, 275). *Ma-dā-da-hu* (6.9.3.1, 1, see below, 7.16); [*h*pa-am-ma] (6.9.3.2, 1) < **U-pa-ma* 'uppermost' (Tallqvist 1914, 270b) (cf. 242b); *U-ta, upama* 'summit' (see Grantovsky 1970, 237f., 328; Hinz 1975, 244 with lit.); Esarhaddon's reign: *Ka-dā-ta-ri-ka-dā-ta-ri-ka* (6.2.3, 3); < **Kad-ta-ri-ka* (see Justi 1895, 176a; Hüsing 1900b, 563f.; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 104f., 106); Doubtful (4 = 12.12%); 737 B.C.: Does [...]-pa-mu-a (6.9.1.6, 1) end in *farnah-ru*? 716 B.C.: *Sum-m[u]-u-ta-ra-a* (6.2.3, 1); 714-711 B.C.: *Hir-Sar-ur-i* (6.1.2.2, 1) and *U-ta-ma-an-da* (6.2.2, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 325 and 236f., 318-85 resp.); (b) Kassite (5 = 15.15%); *Bur-bu-ru-zu* (6.5.2, 1), is in all probability Kassite (Zadok 1976c, 388a, followed by [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b), cf. *B[ir]-am-bu-ri* (6.9.1.7, 2), on which Baker 1998a states: "Aram with Kassite divine name or purely Kassite". The second alternative is the only plausible one as pointed out by Zadok 1976c, 388a. The translation offered by Baker "Son of Baria" (following Soggs 1974, 21 ad 12) should therefore be eliminated. *Bur-bu-ru-zu* (6.2.1.2, 1; 6.2.3, 2; 6.2.5, 1) is very probably the outcome of *Bur-bu-ru-zu* with *r* > *z*. Doubtful (1 = 3.03%); The same shift can be exemplified by *Bi-ri-i-si-hu-ad-ri* (6.8.2) and *Bi-si-hu-ad-ri* (7.4.1.2, 1). Both *Bur-bu-ru-zu* (a compound) and *Bi-ri-i-si-hu-ad-ri* (prob. such, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) have two *r*s. Is it an indication that the latter is also Kassite? The fact that *hu-ad-ri* is preceded by *Ha-ri* in the toponym *Ha-ri-ha-ad-ri* (above, 4.9.1, 6) may strengthen the case for a Kassite derivation. (c) Hurro-Urartian? (3 = 9.09%); *Bi-ke-tu* (6.9.1.6, 1), *Bi-ke-tu-ka* (6.1.6, 1; 6.7.4, 1); an element *ist* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponyms (see 1.14 above), *A-ta-ri-sa-an-tu* (6.1.6, 2, cf. [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) < **A-ta-ri-sa* looks like Hur. *awar* 'field' (but such an element is recorded in toponyms rather than anthroponyms) if not a variant of *avri* 'lord' (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 210f., s.v. *enri*) and *-sa-an-tu* may be compared with *šarni* (see Richter 1998, 133 and MB Nuzi *šar-sa-an-tu* in Assyria, Fincke 1993, 247; for the second component cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 261f., s.v. *tak* (take), *tak*). (d) Unaffiliated and isolated (4 = 12.12%); *Ar-ha-ru-sir* (6.2.4, 1; cf. Lapinkivi 1998) is perhaps Elamite according to Grantovsky 1970, 325, but this is very doubtful. The Old Iranian etymology of *Ma-mu-ka* (6.1.1) [*Ma-mu*]-*ti-ru-si* (6.8.1), which is suggested by Grantovsky (1970,

325), is implausible as NA **ma-* cannot render Olran. *Ar*. *Ha-na-si-ru-ka* (6.5.3, 1) — NA *<g>* does not render — for all we know — any Old Iranian phoneme. In addition, it is unlikely that the Assyrian scribe used a rare value for *š* (such as *z*) for a foreign name. Therefore the attempt at an Old Iranian etymology done by Grantovsky (1970, 204f.; 209; 252) is unsuccessful. 6.6, 1. (e) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 1 = 3.03%; 744-705: 29 = 87.87%; 704-600: 3 = 9.09%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 1000-745 (1 = 100%); Unaffiliated: 744-705 (29 = 100%); Old Iranian 15 (51.72%); Old Iranian? 3 (13.79%); Kassite 5 (17.24%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (10.34%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 2 (6.89%); 704-600 (3 = 100%); Old Iranian 1 (33.33%); Kassite? 1 (33.33%); unaffiliated 1 (33.33%).

6.11. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (50 = 100%; 6.1.4, 6.1.8, 6.1.10, 6.1.11, 2; 6.2.1.1, 6.2.6, 6.9.1.2, 6.9.1.6, 6.9.3.2, 6.9.3.3 are not taken into account)

(a) Homonymous with pre-first millennium names? (2 = 4%); *Mi-si-ru* (6.9.1.4) is possibly pre-Iranian (cf. perhaps the anthroponym *Mi-si-ru* from MB Nuzi [Hurr? Gelb et al. 1943, 235a] rather than Olran. **Masita* (see Zadok 1986, 247). *A-mad* (6.9.4.2), cf. perhaps the Ur III anthroponym *E-mu-mu-ud* (D'Agostino 1998, 56, v. 2, 58, v. 3; both messenger texts; the interchange *a/e* is recorded in NA). (b) Old Iranian (6 = 12%); *Ra-ma-an-da* (6.1.7) derives from **ram-* [...]-*pa-a-ka-nu* (6.9.3.5), cf. 5.3. *Ma-dā-ta-A+A*, *A-ma-da-A+A* (6.8; see Grantovsky 1970, 111), for *a*-see Streck 1989, 139, n. 1; Zadok 1978d, 164f., n. 3 and cf. **E-a-šit-a-ni* (Frane 1999, 47 < *Bi-Sitāni*); *a* is extant as early as Old Assyrian, cf. *a-ba-ru-um* for OB *pa-ri-ri* (CAD B, s.v. *burdili*, cf. Bilgic 1954, 75; Hecker 1968, 15; 7c). *A-ha-ru* (see [Beileging and] Zadok 1998), *A-si-ha* < *Eg. Šiḥa* (left unexplained by Radner 1998d). For *Ni-šā-da* (6.7.1); *Ni-šā-ta* is presumably adapted to the NA genitive form; see Schefelowitz 1905, 274; Grantovsky 1970, 240; Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107; 1987, 64ff. on the one hand and Bailey 1975, 309f. on the other. Originally anthroponyms: (a) Preceded by *li-*: *U-ta-ka-ri* (6.4, 1) < **U-ta-ka* (see Zadok 1979a, 300-3); (b) Homonymous with anthroponyms: *A-ma-ak-ki* (6.9.3.1) < **Ana-ka* is homonymous with the anthroponym 6.9.1.2, 1 above. Just possible (7 = 14.28%); *U-ta-ka-ri* (6.9.1.2, 1), poss. < **U-ta-ka* (see Zadok 1986, 247-5; cf. Eilers 1954, 335f., n. 125; 344f., n. 158; 1987, 50). *Ra-si-sa-mu* (6.7.3) may render **Rasana* (see Zadok 1981-82, 137; cf. Zadok 1976a, 76-9; E-Sa-an-gi (6.4, 2, see Grantovsky 1970, 229-42); less likely originally an anthroponym. *Bi-ri-ha-ru* (6.1.3.1, 1), probably ends in *-ak-ru* which is common in Old Iranian toponymy (Zadok 1976c, 388a). It may be homonymous with the hypothetical Old Iranian source of the edonym *Παρκάσιον* Περσικαίον. *Pi-ra-ka-nu* (6.1.2.1, 2) may end in the same suffix (based on **Farnah* CVC signs like *PR* are indifferent to vowel quality). *Sa-ka* (6.1.3.1, 2), which is recorded as early as 716 B.C., can render **Saka* 'Scythian' (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, 8, 1478), in which case it would be the earliest attestation of this group in Media. *Ki-ru-ru* (6.1.6) — if the reading is correct, then it may be an *-āru* (pro-) patronymic of **kairu*, cf. Av. *kairu* 'astrologer' or *sim* (cf. Gershevitch 1967, 156f.; Grantovsky 1970, 267). *Ka-ha-ru* is less likely pre-Iranian (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 222a, s.v. *kai*: *Qa-ri-ru*). Very doubtful (2 = 4%); *U-ta-em-ka-nu* (6.7.2, see Diakonoff 1956, 203, n. 2). *Ra-ta-ri* (6.6.1) may render **Ravah* (Zadok 1986, 247), but is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation (cf. below, j). (c) Perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised (1 = 2%); *Ki-ka-si-a* (6.2.3) — Grantovsky (1971, 322, n. 18) suggests an Iranian etymology, viz. **Kā(h)kayān*, in which case *Ki-ka-si-a* 'Wall of the Kassites' would be a folk etymology made by the Assyrian scribes. (d) Kassite (2 = 4%); *Ma-a-ri* (6.9.2.1, cf. Baillet 1954, 164f., s.v. *ma* 'different'), *Sig-šā-ha* (6.5.3), *E-sa-gi-ha* (7.4.4) are common forms, but have the same base (see below, 7.17). Both are hardly 'pre-Median' (pace Medvedskaya 1995 and Diakonoff 1996, 131-2). Doubtful (1 = 2%); *Kar-zi-mā-ni* (6.1.2.1, 1) may begin with *karzi* (cf. above, 5.7, 4). It is written *Kar-zi-mā-ni* in the section of the Sargon Geography (Horowitz 1998, 74, 37, cf. 90, 93), which includes the Lullubians and several regions ending in *-ni*, viz. *Ar-ri-ka-šā*, *Qut* (Qut-šā, *Si-šar-gi*), *Si-šar-gi* and *Ha-na-da-ki-ka-šā*. Very doubtful (1 = 2%); *U-ta-ka-ri* (6.9.1.2, 1) linguistically related to the toponyms MB *Pi-ra-ka-nu*, *Bi-ri-ha-ru*, *MA* *U-ta-ka-ri*, *U-ta-ka-ri* (MB *U-ta-ka-ri* in northeastern Babylonia in the piedmont of the Zagros) and *Bi-ri-ha-ru* (Babylonian) (Balkan 1954, 45, 93, 98, see Nashef 1982, 1975) or a later form of

them? (c) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? (2 = 4%): *Ki-ia di-gi-a-su* (6.3, 2) ends in either *-raš*, in which case it might be Kassite, or perhaps Hurro-Urartian. *Gi-zi-ia-hi-ki-si* (6.7.5) — *ki-zi-si, ki-zi-si* appears in Kassite and Hurrian names (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 228 and Balkan 1943, 64f.). Are *Gi-zi-ia-hi* and *Gi-zi-ia-hi* taboos, 2.3.16) linguistically related (with a metathesis)? (d) Hurro-Urartian? (2 = 4%): *A+A-lal[a]* (6.1.1.1, 1) is linguistically related to *A+A-lal-e* of Annadil in Urartu (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 271; cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 219a, s.v. *lal-2*). *Ba-re-up-pu* (6.7.4) is perhaps homonymous with 1.5.1, 5. (g) Atypical (3 = 6%): *I-ca-A+A* (6.9.4.1) is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation, cf. the anthroponym *I-ca-ia* (late OB, Eideid 1992, 137, 4; Salvini 1996, 61, iv, 10): *Gi-hi-ki-ir* (6.2.5, 2) = *Gi-ir-gi-ra-a*? cf. above, 4.13; 6.2.4. (h) Akkadian (2 = 4%): *Bit-Bitar-Issar* (6.5.1) was hardly renamed by the Assyrians as assumed by Billerbeck (1898, 84 with n. 3), since we happen to know that Median places which were renamed by the Assyrians generally begin with *kar* (+ DN or RN). *Kāribtu* (6.7.6) denotes "greeting, blessing" (also recorded as a NB-LB anthroponym). (i) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated (5 = 10%): *Ki-in-ka-ai-en-gi* and *Ki-in-gi-al-ka-si-š* (6.3, 1, 3) begin with *kingi* (cf. above, 2.6, e). *Ka-ān-ia-ba-ka-ia* (6.1.1.1, 2) may be based on *ka-ia* (cf. *ad kar* above, 2.6, e). Does *Dan-nu-um-bi* (6.1.1.1, 1) have the same ending as *Putumbi* (on the way from the Pabai to Halman, W.G. Lambert *opud* Klengel 1965, 361)? *Ki-št-la-ha* (6.2.2, 2) for *lahtia* cf. Zadok 1991a, 227). (j) Unaffiliated and isolated (14 = 28%): The homonymy of *A-na-te/A-na* (6.6) and neighbouring *Ra-na* (6.6.1) with two coeval Aramaean tribes in Babylonia (cf. Zadok 1985b, 56, 69) seems coincidental. The same applies to the resemblance of *Ha-ar-zi-a-nu*, *Ha-ar-zi-a-ni* (6.1.5) with OA *Ha-ar-zi-a-nu* in central Anatolia (Nashif 1991, 54f.). The comparison of *U-pa-ai* (6.3, 5) with the anthroponym *U-pa-ai* (4.12.2, 2), which was made by Billerbeck (1898, 85), is based on assonance. *A-pi-mi-nu* (6.9.1.7.1, 1) — for Olan. *api* cf. D.N. Mackenzie *opud* Saggs 1974, 211 ad 8, but what follows is hardly Old Iranian, 6.1.9, 6.2.5, 6.3, 4, 6, 7 cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 1), 6.9.1.1, 6.9.1.3, *Zab* (hardly for ERM)-*zi-qi* (6.9.1.7.1.2, 6.9.2.2, 6.9.3.4, (k) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000–745 = 2 = 4%; 744–705 = 44 = 88%; 704–600 = 4 = 8%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 1000–745 (2 = 100%); Old Iranian 1 (50%); Kassite? 1 (50%); 744–705 (44 =

100%); Homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (2.27%); Old Iranian 8 (18.18%); possibly Old Iranian 7 (15.9%, of which at least 2, i.e. 4.54% are originally anthroponyms); Old Iranian? 1 (2.27%); Kassite? 2 (4.54%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.54%); Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.54%); atypical 1 (2.27%); Akkadian 1 (2.27%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 5 (11.36%); unaffiliated and isolated 14 (31.81%); 704–600 (= 100%); quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (25%); perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (25%); atypical 1 (25%); Akkadian 1 (25%).

7. WESTERN MEDIA

7.1. *Namri and Bit-Hamban* (see Levine 1973, 22f.; Herzfeld 1968, 23f. followed by Reade 1978, 137f.; Namri in the Mahadis).

7.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy (I–I in Namri, 5 in Bit-Hamban)

1. *Bit-Hi-šā-lā-ai*, 2. *Bit-Ē-šā-lā-ai* (cf. *E-šā-lā-ai* of Harhar with Streck 1900, 348, n. 23), 3. *Bit-Ē-šā-lā-ai*, 4. *Bit-Ē-šā-lā-ai* (Grayson 1996, 68; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 14f.; 835 B.C.). A watercourse in Namri is simply designated as *I-Namri-ia* in Grayson 1996, 40; A.0.102.6, iv, 10 (cf. Levine 1973, 23). According to the same source (iv, 10f.), Bit-Hamban was situated east of Namri: Shalmaneser III reached Namri from Abadan via *Ha-ban* in 843 B.C. Babiluni did not belong to Mannea (despite Boehmer 1964, 17), but is the Urartian name of Namri according to Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 17f., s.v. Babilu (for another opinion see below, 7.4.4); 5. *Bit-Ki-nu-ia* (Fuchs 1994, 413). 6. *Bit-Hi-šā-lā-ai* (Esarhaddon's reign; Starr 1990, 38 r. 3) is juxtaposed with Bit-Hamban. 7. *Bit-Hi-šā-lā-ai* is mentioned in the same letter as *Ha-ban*, but there is no geographical information (Lanfanchi and Pappalardo 1990, 226, 11). 8. *Bit-Nergal* (see below, 7.1.2).

7.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Marlak-mukammā* controlled also Bit-Nergal. Suhruru and Niqqu (in Tupilas) in 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 7, 13); 2. *fo-an-za-bi* king of Namri, 842–835 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 67f.; A.0.102.14, 112) was originally from Bit-Hamban (*DUMU* "Heir-cum-ban, Grayson 1996,

67; A.0.102.14, 95; Kass., see Brinkman 1976–80, 259).

7.2. *Sulauzu* (*Sulhai*?)

7.2.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

The reading 1. *Šul-hu-za* (rather than *Šu-hu-za*, Tadmor 1994, 304 with refs.), gent. *Šul-hu-za-A+A* (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 12, 4) is preferable in view of the MB anthroponym *Šu-hu-za* from Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 135b, 258b). *Šul-hu-za* was situated in Tupilas (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 14; 828 B.C.). Tupilas (Tubpišas or Tugkilas, for *big, pik* see Kinier Wilson 1962, 113), which was basically a Kassite region, is merely a geographical term. It was in all probability adjacent to Namri, presumably more to the southwest. *Šu-hu-za* is mentioned in a letter dealing with an Assyrian camp in 2. *Šu-hu-za* (pos. near Bit-Barru, see Pappalardo 1987, 15 ad 13, 4.9, time of Sargon II). *Uraumu* is hardly identical with MB Ullame which was in the Nuzi region (see Fincke 1933, 319ff.).

7.2.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Tu-ia-ia* the Sulauzu (ruler, 744 B.C.), Kass.

7.3. *Bit-Sangibati*

Billerbeck (1898, 80f.) erroneously identified this region (not the Urartian homonymous one) with Bit-Sangi. He is followed by Levine (1977a, 142c) and Diakonoff (1991, 16 with n. 11; cf. Vera Chamaza 1994, 105f.). Both regions must be differentiated, seeing that they are listed together twice in one and the same summary inscription: Tadmor 1994, 164f.: 29f., 34f. has Bit-Sangibati and Bit-Sangi. *Šul-hu-za-A+A* (Tadmor 1994, 98 ad St. 1, B, 15; cf. 29f. index, s.v. Bit-Sangi; Olan.; *Šul-hu-za* (Harper 1892–1914, 174, 11; Medes and *Šul-hu-za*) are mentioned; it is doubtful whether *Šul-hu-za* (1224, r. 3, belongs here as well) belonged to either Bit-Hamban or Harhar according to Fuchs 1994, 445.

1. *Šu-hu-za* (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998); pre-Iran. and 2. *Ki-ha-bi-še* (Pappalardo 1987, 14, 13; both 707 or 706 B.C.) lived in either Bit-Sangibati or Ellipi.

7.4. *Kišē* (in) and environs

7.4.1. *Kišē* (in) "proper"

Ki-še-si-sa, *Ki-še-si-sa*, *Ki-še-si-sa*, *Ki-še-si-sa*, *Ki-še-si-sa*, *Ki-še-si-sa* was a city (renamed *Kar-Nergal*) and an Assyrian province in Media (Pappalardo 1970, 210f. with refs.; Fuchs 1994, 443). Levine (1977b, 181) locates it in the general vicinity of the Mahadis. Perhaps it was in or near modern Najafabad (15 km. northeast of Kangavar). The location suggested by Diakonoff (1991, 16, 18), viz. on the upper reaches of the Sefid-rud east and north of Harhar is unfounded.

7.4.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

Šu-hu-za (Levine 1972, 38f., ii, 36, 37) might have been the capital of Kišē — if we rely on the fact that Sargon II encamped there when he conquered Kišē — perhaps at or near Najafabad, according to Reade 1995, 39 (cf. Fuchs 1997–98, 405f.).

7.4.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy of rulers

1. *Bit-hu-za* dir. *Ki-še-si-sa-A+A*, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 11, 12). Kass? 2. *Bit-hu-za*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 36).

7.4.1.3. HUNDREANS/HARHARITES IN ASSUR

Hundrans/Harharites are recorded in the city of Assur during the last generation of the Assyrian empire. They were presumably descendants of people from the Median provinces. It cannot be proven that their ancestors were deportees, as this seems incompatible with the Assyrian tendency to deport peoples from the east to the far west rather than to Assyria proper. Judging from their names, which are typical to the city of Assur, they were already culturally assimilated with the Assyrians. Only very few anthroponyms, exclusively fathers' names, are non-Semitic. This is expected as their ancestors presumably settled in Assur several generations earlier, in the last decades of the eighth century B.C. at the latest. However, a certain degree of cohesion is easily discernible among the Hundrans/Harharites, whose designation was transformed from an ethno-linguistic into a professional one, presumably "specialist porters" (see Postgate 1995, 405f.). What is presented below is not a comprehensive prosopography of the Hundrans/Harharites, but several individuals with noteworthy names and designations.

¹⁰GAL ¹¹Hu-¹²im-¹³di-A+¹⁴[A] (poss. sometime between 647 and 612 B.C., see Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 88 ad 39, 7; Assur-¹⁵alik-pāni s. of Summa-Aššur ¹⁶Har-ha-A+¹⁷A, 630-622 B.C. (see Radner 1998c). ¹⁸Har-ha-A+¹⁹A acted as a principal in a damaged deed which is witnessed, among others, by Lū-turamni-²⁰Aššur (date lost); ²¹Bi-²²na-a acted as a witness (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 87f.; 39, 10; ²³Pir-na-²⁴[o] f. of Summa-Aššur, 642 B.C. (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 36, see Deller 1984, 238). Ba-²⁵ru s. of ²⁶Pir-na-a (619 B.C.; Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 109f.; 52, 16f.; 136: App. 2, r. 4'f.) is etymologised as West Semitic by Zadok *apud* Deller 1984, 239, n. 54. ²⁷Bi-²⁸ir-na-a (641 B.C.) was perhaps a Hurduran (cf. Berlejung 1998). Summa-Aššur s. of ²⁹Pir-na-a (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 78f.; 35, 4; deed concerning a real estate transaction by Hurdurians). The same document is witnessed by Mušallim-Aššur s. of Hai-bi-sa-³⁰u (line 28 on 80). The latter may contain the Kassite theophorous element *Harbe*.

7.4.2. Halhubarra/Harharbarban

³¹Har/Ha-ar-hu-bu-ban in Kīsesim (cf. Halhubarra, see Diakonoff 1956a, 208; cf. Forrer 1922, 92; Fuchs 1994, 437).

1. ³²An-zi of ³³Hal-ha-bar-ra, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43; see Radner 1998c).

7.4.3. Kilambūn

³⁴Ki-lam-ba-a-ni (Kass.) was near Kīsesim (see Fuchs 1994, 443; Vera Chamaza 1994, 106f.).

1. ³⁵Pa-A+³⁶A-³⁷ku-³⁸ of ³⁹Ki-lam-ba-e, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43). OIran.

7.4.4. Bit-Sagbat

⁴⁰É-Sa-ag-ba-at (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 31). ⁴¹É-Sa-ag-ba-at was situated near Kīsesim (see Fuchs 1994, 428f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 107). ⁴²É-Sa-ag-ba-at was in ⁴³Dan-ni-ti sū DUMU A.[A.DINGIR.RA] (.), i.e. 'the fortress of the Babylonians' (= ⁴⁴Si-⁴⁵il-ha-zī), according to Fuchs 1994, 428f. (ad Levine 1972, 38, ii, 40), who suggests (following Grantovskiy 1970, 114, cf. Diakonoff and Kashlai 1979, 17f.) that ⁴⁶Dannati sū nar-Babīl is the same as Urart. ⁴⁷Babīlani (cf. above, 7.1.1). There is no absolute certainty that Bit-Sa-ag-ba-at (presumably Kass.) is the same place as Bit-Sa-ag-bul-ha-a, Pace Levine (1972, 32; 1974, 110 with n. 73), the latter is

presumably not the same place as ⁴⁸Har-ha-bai, which is mentioned together with Elam (Winckler 1889, 124, 137f., cf. Zadok 1985b, 49).

1. ⁴⁹Ma-⁵⁰ki-ir-ni of ⁵¹É-Sa-ag-bai, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 44).

7.4.5. Silhazī

⁵²Sil-⁵³ha-zi (cf. 7.4.4 just above) belonged to the province of Kīsesi according to Fuchs 1994, 445 (mentioned in Tadmor 1994, 72; Ann. 15, 11 before Til-Aššuri which is to be sought more to the southwest).

7.4.6. Armanu (= Urumangu/Uruangi?)

⁵⁴Ar-ma-nu-ga, a town near Kīsesim (see Fuchs 1994, 424), is perhaps identical with NB ⁵⁵Ar-ma-nu-ga (see Zadok 1985a, 330f.) and ⁵⁶Ar-ma-nu-ga (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 44). The latter was ruled in 714 B.C. by 1. ⁵⁷Ki-ta-ak-ki, OIran.

7.4.7. Bit-Uargi

⁵⁸É-U-⁵⁹ma-gi, ⁶⁰É-U-⁶¹ar-gi near Kīsesim (see Fuchs 1994, 429), OIran.

7.4.8. Bit-Hirmūni

⁶²É-Hi-ir-ma-ni was situated near Kīsesim (see Fuchs 1994, 427).

7.5. Harhar and environs

Levine (1972-75b; 1974, 116; cf. VALL 1993, 83) suggests locating Harhar in central or eastern Mahādāst. He believes that Harhar with its surrounding territory was the easternmost limit of the Assyrian direct control in the Zagros. Herzfeld (1968, 32) and Reade (1978, 140f.) are more specific: they suggest that it lay further east, towards Nihavand and Malayer. The latter suggests localising the city of Harhar in Tepe Gīyan. It is difficult to determine the eastern, northern and southern limits of Harhar.

The stages of Sargon II's itinerary from Harhar to B/Pastus (716 B.C.) are:

Harhar → Zakrūt → Kurab/pī (received the tribute of Saparda, [x]kultu, Bigallī, Sigkaiis and Bit-

Uargi) → Mt. Abrahā[x] → Arussa → Patus river → Uquū → Aruska → Anzokē (near Uiyakku) → Upariya (received the tribute of Aradīsta) → B/Pastus.

7.5.1. Harhar "proper"

⁶³Har-ha-ha-ar, ⁶⁴Har-ha-a-ra, gen. ⁶⁵Har-ha-ra-A+⁶⁶A, refers to both the city (renamed ⁶⁷Kā-sar-u-⁶⁸akin) and the province (Fuchs 1994, 437). The name has forerunners from the Ur III and OB periods if not earlier (see Edzard and Farber 1974, 91; ⁶⁹Kā-har, ⁷⁰Har-ha-ha [hapax. unpubl.]; Grönborg 1980, 131; ⁷¹Kā-har; cf. Frayne 1992, 69f.). Reade (1978, 140, n. 22) doubts this identification, but it is defensible in view of other instances of toponymic continuity, such as Ur III Sigris and Siširtum (below, 7.10.1.1, 7).

7.5.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY (I-3) did not necessarily belong to Harhar proper, but are mentioned in the course of a campaign to its environs, notably Aiazias; a case in point may be that of 4)

1. ⁷²Ku-a-ki-in-da, 2. ⁷³Har-za-na-bi, 3. ⁷⁴É-sa-mal, 4. ⁷⁵Ki-ir-abip-hi-la (Grayson 1996, 68; Shalim, III A.0.102.14, 122f.; cf. Ku-ir-abip-hi, below, 7.5.5.1, 2), 5. ⁷⁶Ki-ir-⁷⁷hi (renamed ⁷⁸Kā-Nabū, Fuchs 1994, 422, 443), 6. ⁷⁹Ar-za-na (renamed ⁸⁰Kā-⁸¹Is-tar or ⁸²Kā-Adad, Fuchs 1994, 426), 7. ⁸³É-mBa-ga-iz-A+⁸⁴A, ⁸⁵-Ga-ba-ia (OIran), renamed ⁸⁶Kā-⁸⁷Is-tar or ⁸⁸Kā-Adad (Fuchs 1994, 426).

7.5.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

⁸⁹Ki-ba-ba, city ruler of Harhar, c. 721-720 B.C., atyp.

7.5.2. Qantau

⁹⁰Qa-an-ta-a-i/Qūn-ta-a-i (mentioned together with ⁹¹Ki-ir-ga-ra-ia, renamed ⁹²Kā-Sin, Fuchs 1994, 443).

1. ⁹³U-zi-tar of ⁹⁴Qa-an-ta-a-i, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45). OIran.

7.5.3. Kingaraku

⁹⁵Ki-ir-ga-ra-ku (or ⁹⁶Ki-ir-ga-ra-ku?), possibly in Harhar (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45).

1. ⁹⁷Aka-⁹⁸da-A+⁹⁹A-¹⁰⁰ku, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45). OIran.

7.5.4. Nārtu and environs

7.5.4.1. NARTU "PROPER"

7.5.4.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. ¹⁰¹Ki-ir-za-a-ir-ha-¹⁰²ja (Fuchs 1994, 443); 2. ¹⁰³Bi-¹⁰⁴É-¹⁰⁵Ra-ma-na — the lower river region near Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 428); ¹⁰⁶Ra-na-¹⁰⁷ia (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 45; OIran).

7.5.4.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. ¹⁰⁸U-¹⁰⁹sa-tar (poss. = ¹¹⁰U-¹¹¹ak-sa-tar in Harper 1892-1914, 64 from Sargon II's time according to Ivančič 1993, 82), 2. ¹¹²Du-re-si and 3. ¹¹³Sa-tar-e-¹¹⁴ia (OIran).

7.5.4.2. Bit-Bārī

1. ¹¹⁵Sa-tar-e-¹¹⁶ia (OIran.) and 2. ¹¹⁷Pa-¹¹⁸ra-na-¹¹⁹ni were city rulers of ¹²⁰Bi-¹²¹É-¹²²Ba-¹²³ri and ¹²⁴Bi-¹²⁵É-¹²⁶Ba-¹²⁷ri in 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vii, 21f.) — presumably respectively, i.e. S. of Bit-Bārī and P. of Bit-Bārī. Urart. ¹²⁸Bi-¹²⁹na-na is identical with Bit-Bārī (OIran.) rather than with Bit-Bārī (see below, 7.10.2). Bit-Bārī may be merely homonymous with ME ¹³⁰Bi-¹³¹ba-ar-¹³²ia (Vallat 1993, 44).

7.5.4.3. Bit-BARBARI

See 7.5.4.2 just above.

7.5.4.4. ARANIZIAs

¹³³A-ra-an-ze-a-¹³⁴bi, ¹³⁵A-ra-zi-[āš] (gent. ¹³⁶A-ra-zi-dā-A+¹³⁷A) was the upper region of Nārtu near Harhar (see Streck 1980, 344, n. 1; Fuchs 1994, 423). Fralim (1997, 123b) rejects the identification suggested by Tadmor (1994, 49 ad Ann. 1, 11; 2; implied by Reade 1978, 138, fig. 1) of the geographical referent of the variant form ¹³⁸É-¹³⁹ri-¹⁴⁰bi with ¹⁴¹Bi-¹⁴²an-¹⁴³at of Bit-Bārī (below, 7.10.2, 1). Tadmor's suggestion should not be rejected off hand: it is acceptable only if at a certain stage Ellipi took control of a region belonging to the Assyrian province of Harhar sometime in Semacharib's reign if not slightly earlier. The interchange *ri* is not uncommon in forms having more than one liquid nasal.

1. ¹⁴⁴Ara-ni-si-ar-ia the Aranzian (Grayson 1990, 186; Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 38 — on his return from the campaign, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810 (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.); 2. ¹⁴⁵Ra-ma-na-¹⁴⁶ia of ¹⁴⁷A-ra-zi-[āš], 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 12, 1). OIran.

7.5.5. Zagrûte and environs

This region should be located immediately east of the Mahdist, perhaps in the Bisutan area (see Levine 1974, 118).

7.5.5.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1. *Uz-ag-rû-te* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is mentioned before 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (cf. 7.5.1.1, 4 above) and 3. *Uz-gal-i* (cf. 7.5.7 just below).

7.5.5.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. [..] *Uz*, 757 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. B. ii, 43); 2. *Uz-gal-pa-na*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47). Olran.

7.5.6. Possibly in "Greater" Harhar

1. *Uz-ir-gone* (see Fuchs 1994, 469). 2. *Uz-ir-nu-mi* (near Kermanshah, Parpola 1987, 237b s.v. ad 73, 8; in broken context; to Harhar according to Diakonoff 1985a, 87, n. 1). *Uz-ir-nu-mi* (poss. Harh.) was situated at the entrance of the pass of Saparda (*Uz-pa-ri-dhi*, Starr 1990, 51, 6, 10, r. 7; Esarhaddon's reign; the reading of the second sign was suggested by Diakonoff 1956a, 269, n. 1) and was under threat from Kasarî (cf. Kar-Kassî on Dusanî of Saparda; and 3. *Uz-ai-bi-pa-[u]k-ta-ri* in Nâru/Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 465 and 436 resp.).

7.5.7. [x]kultu

1. *Uz* [...] of [x]kultu (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 47) delivered tribute at *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (mentioned after Zagrûte) together with Da-i-ku of Saparda, and presumably with the rulers of *Uz-gal-i*, Sig'kris and Bit-Uargi (cf. Levine 1972, 40, ii, 48).

7.5.8. Saparda

Uz-pa-ri-da (in Harhar, see Diakonoff 1985a, 107; cf. Streck 1900, 346f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 108f.). *Uz-pa-ri-da*, *Uz-pa-ri-da*, gent. *Uz-pa-ri-da-A-A* (NB; Starr 1990, 366a with refs.; Kass.?)

1. *Da-i-ku* of Saparda, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 47). Olran. (Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998p; 2. *Da-ri-i* of *Uz-pa-ri-da*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47). Olran.; 3. *Da-i-a-na-ni* ruler of Saparda, time of Esarhaddon (Starr 1990, 10f. with n. 253; 45, 4; 50, 6; -[tar-ni], 51, 4, 7; [Da-sa-na-na], n. 5; [D]u; see Fabricius [and Schmitt] 1998a).

7.5.9. Sig'kris

7.5.9.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-is-i* (gent. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-is-i-A-A*) is pre-Iranian (recorded as early as Ur III, see Edzard and Farber 1974, 181, cf. Vallat 1993, cxiv, 241). Sig'kris belonged to Harhar according to Fuchs 1994, 445. 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 49) is hardly identical with *Uz-ir-abi-ri-us* of Tiglath-pileser III (above, 4.11.1, 2).

7.5.9.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM (BOTH OLRAH?)

1. *Uz-pa-ri-da* and the Sig'krisian, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 14); 2. *Uz-TAR-na* city lord of Sig'kris, time of Esarhaddon (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

7.6. Uriyakkû

7.6.1. Geographical extent and toponym

Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, gent. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku-A-A*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku-A-A*, was a region near Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 469; Olran.). 1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku-A-A* (Fuchs 1994, 430; Olran.).

7.6.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM (1, 2, 4 OLRAH?)

1. *Ka-ra-ak-ka* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 55). *Ka-ra-ak-ka* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku-A-A*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49). *Ka-ra-ak-ku* from *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* or "the Uriakean" (*Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku-A-A*, Harper 1892-1914, 713, 6 and 12 resp.). 2. *Ir-uk-ka-mu*, city lord of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 128, z. 6; 1046 [cf. Postgate 1974, 116] z. 2). In both letters it is reported about Harhar and the Mades; 3. *Uz-pa-ri-da* (Olran?), city lord of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 645, 12f.); 4. *Ra-me-mi-ti-i*, *Ra-me-mi-ti-i*, coeval with Karakû's son, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 713, 8, 10).

7.7. Uqûia

7.7.1. Geographical extent and toponym

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 52). *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 19) is preceded by 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Olran.) and 3. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 51f.). It is followed by 4. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Olran.) and 5. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 54, 56 resp.).

7.7.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

Uz-ir-abi-ri, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 19). Olran.

7.8. Upariya

7.8.1. Geographical extent and toponym

Uz-pa-ri-da (Tadmor 1994, 107; St. B. ii, B, 37); *Uz-pa-ri-da* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 56). *Uz-pa-ri-da* *Uz-pa-ri-da* was east of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 466) between 1. Mt. *Pa-ri-da-ri-abi-ri* and 2. Mt. *Da-ri-abi-ri* and included the region of 3. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (see Fuchs 1994, 456). Mt. *Da-ri-abi-ri* is homonymous with 4. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 56 and 63 resp.; Olran.). For a homonymous mountain and river in the same region (very probably related topographically), compare Eilers 1954, 313f., n. 23 *in fine*; Astour 1987, 21 with n. 126.

7.8.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 107 ad St. B. ii, B, 37); Olran.; 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. B. ii, B, 35; presumably Olran.) of *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (subject to collation) *pa-ri-da*, 3. *Uz-ir-abi-ri* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 24). Olran.

7.9. Arahîta (*Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*)

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 58). *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49; see Fuchs 1998, 41, n. 120). *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 28). Olran.

7.10. Ellipi and environs (see Streck 1960, 76f.; Levine 1974, 104f.; Fuchs 1994, 432f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 102f.)

7.10.1. Ellipi "proper"

According to Medvedskaya (1999, 63f.), Ellipi was situated in Pish-i Kuh as far east as Kuli Garin. Her Western neighbours were Bit-Hanân, Hahman and Tupilat and the eastern ones were Anzâs, Harhar and Media.

7.10.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Capitak, see Edzard 1987-90; Fuchs 1994, 450) is perhaps the same place as OP *Maru*, LB *Ma-ru*, a fortress in Media, presumably in its western part (Von Voigtlander 1978, 2345; 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 3. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, 4. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Fuchs 1998a, 40, vi.b, 3ff.), 5. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (see Fuchs 1994, 438f. 6. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 16), 7. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Parpola 1970, 324 with refs.; and Ur III *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, see Edzard and Farber 1974, 245, s.v. *Zairum*), belonged to Ellipi (BU-Barrû) in Sennacherib's time, but was a fortress of the Assyrian province of Harhar on the Ellipian border by Esarhaddon's time (Starr 1990, 77, 2, 5, r. 1). It seems that 8. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Harper 1892-1914, 645, 9) belonged to either Ellipi or Harhar.

7.10.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* of the Ellipian, 843 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40f.; Shalm. III A.10.2.6, iv, 21f., see Frahm [and Schmitt] 1998). Iran./Elam; 2. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Tadmor 1994, 98; St. B. ii, B, 31); *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 42; Fuchs 1994, 408f.; uncle of 4-6; Kass.?) 3. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, a personage from Ellipi (see Fuchs 1994, 408), poss. Iran. or Harh.; 4. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku*, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Parpola 1987, 16 z. 6; 17, 6; *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Harper 1892-1914, 128, 9, 13, 17). Elam; 6. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* nephew of Dalia and cousin of Esparâ, time of Sargon II and Sennacherib (see Fuchs 1994, 413). Kass.?) 7. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* city lord of *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6). *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* (Starr 1990, 76, r. 21 in Esarhaddon's reign. Kass.

7.10.2. BU-Barrû

Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku, *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* in Ellipi (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 25 and 59, 31 resp.) is very probably a dynastic name, presumably named after the Ellipian ruler *Uz-ir-abi-ri* (7.10.1.2) above, cf. Frahm and Schmitt 1998). It was annexed to the province of Harhar by Sennacherib (see Levine 1974, 117). *BU-Barrû* rather than *BU-Barrû* resembles Urart. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* i.e. *Uz-ir-abi-ri-ku* being an Urart. suffix from the time of Argishti I, i.e. the early eighth century B.C. If the Urartian toponym refers to BU-Barrû (cf. Diakonoff [and Kashkai] 1979, 18f., who does not preclude an identification with BU-Barrû), then this would be the

earliest attestation of this region, about half a century after the eponymous dynasty is mentioned.

1. ¹*El-ai-ai-ai* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 27, cf. above, 7.5.4.4; renamed *Kāš-Sin-aišā-ai* (ibid.), 2. ²*Ku-ai-ma-ai-hu-ai* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 23; 68, 14 and together with Šiširtu in 58, 31).

7.10.3. Harhar/Elippi

1. *As-ra-ka-(a)-ai* and 2. *A-ma-ka-ni* are recorded in the undated letter Harper 1892-1914, 14.54, which is datable to Sargon II's time (see Radner [and Schmitt 1998g]). It concerns Kulaman, Sig'kris and Elippi. Both anthroponyms are probably Olran.

7.11. Parnuti

¹*Pa-ra-nu-a-ti*, a region east of Elippi (see Fuchs 1994, 453; Olran.).

7.12. Ba'ti-ai and environs

¹*Ba-ti-ai*, ²*Ba-ti-DINGIR* was located on the border of Elippi (Fuchs 1994, 425). It is not necessarily Bagastava < ¹*Bagastava*, modern Bisutun (pace Hüsing 1898, 361; see Billerbeck 1898, 1; Streck 1900, 352) and has nothing to do with ¹*Pa-ti-ti-(a)-ai* (below, 7.15.7, 3; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 321f.). The only recorded settlement is 1. ¹*E-ri-ai-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 433; Olran.). Ba'ti-ai included several districts (see Fuchs 1994, 418, 421 s.v.v.), viz. 2. ¹*Am-ba-ai-da*, 3. ¹*Abip-sa-mu-ai*, and 4. ¹*A-ga-ai*.

7.13. Regions near Ba'ti-ai

7.13.1. B/Pusūs, B/Pusūs

¹*Ba-ti-ai* is (see Fuchs 1994, 429), ²*Ba-ti-ai* is, ³*Ba-ti-ai* is.

1. *Ra-ti-ai* of ¹*Ba-ti-ai* is, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 58). Olran.; 2. *A-ri-ai* city lord of ¹*Ba-ti-ai* is, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 26, see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998f), Olran.

7.13.2. Urena

¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470).

7.13.3. Uadaue

¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470).

7.14. Dauram

¹*Da-na-mi* is to be sought east of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 429), like Uadaue, B/Pusūs, Agazi, and Ambanda, which are also more to the east (Streck 1900, 353f.).

7.15. Presumably in southwestern Media (for such a

location of 7.15.1, 7.15.7, 2 see Billerbeck 1898, 82, 87f.). On party politics in southwestern Iran cf. Benešiat 1998, 147f. with lit.

7.15.1. Bt-Zualzaš (see Vera Chmaza 1994, 107f.)

1. *Hu-mu-be-e* of ¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470, 481). *Hu-mu-be-e* of ¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470, 481). *Hu-mu-be-e* of ¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470, 481). *Hu-mu-be-e* of ¹*U-ri-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470, 481).

7.15.2. Bt-Mati

¹*Bt-Mati*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 70; Ann. 14*, 6; 88; Ann. 4, 3) is listed between Bt-Zualzaš and Tupliāš.

7.15.3. Karzibra

¹*Kar-zib-ra* (Kass?), gent. ¹*Kar-zib-ra-ai* (Diakonoff 1956a, 203) is not necessarily identical with *Kar-Sipari* in Kurdistan as understood by Arutyunyan 1985, 102f. with previous lit. Does modern *Kar-zib-ra* (17 miles below Zanjan at 36-48 48-14) originate from a homonym of *Kar-zib-ra*?

7.15.4. Other regions from 737 B.C.

1. ¹*A-ri-ai* (Tadmor 1994, 74; Ann. 16, 1; 104; St. II, B, 28); ²*A-ri-ai* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 31; Olran?); 2. ¹*Tarlagolre*, 3. ¹*Sa-ra-ai* (Kass?), 4. ¹*A-ri-ai* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 31; Olran?); 5. ¹*Giu-mi-na* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 31; Olran?) are mentioned between Amale and Silāzi (Tadmor 1994, 72; Ann. 15, 7; 16, 1).

7.15.5. Bt-Tarazāyū

¹*Bt-Tarazāyū* (Tadmor 1994, 124; Summ. 1, 18).

7.15.6. Šentais

¹*Šentais* (see Fuchs 1994, 429). ²*Šentais* (see Zadok 1985a, 179, 291f., s.v.v.). The former is perhaps a residue of Ur III Šumaki which is localised by Vallat (1993, cxliii). In the Shahdad region (southeastern Iran). However, there is no definite proof for Vallat's localisation.

7.15.7. Parnakku

Esarhaddon's campaign against 1. ¹*Pār-na-ki* (gent. ¹*Pār-na-ka-A+A*, Borger 1956, 34; Kich A, 28; Nin. B, iii, 22 and 51, Nin. A, iii, 56 resp.) took place in 677/6 B.C. at the latest (see Ivantchik 1993, 81 with previous lit.). The Parnakkeans are described as dwellers of 2. *Til-Aššur/77* (cf. Tadmor 1994, 73 ad Ann. 15, 12). They were named 3. *Pa-ti-(i)-ai* (in the tongue of the people of 4. *Mi-Mi-hi-ai* (Borger 1956, 34; Kich A, 29; 51; Nin. A, iii, 58). *Pa-ti-(i)-ai* is hardly identical with earlier *Pa-ti* (pace Diakonoff 1983a, 102) and has nothing to do with *Ba-ti-ai* (7.12 above; see Zadok 1981, 135f.). ¹*Pār-na-ki* is not identical with ¹*Bt-(i)-ai* (Borger 1956, 34; Kich A, 28; Nin. B, iii, 22 and 51, Nin. A, iii, 56 resp.) took place in 677/6 B.C. at the latest (see Ivantchik 1993, 81 with previous lit.). The Parnakkeans are described as dwellers of 2. *Til-Aššur/77* (cf. Tadmor 1994, 73 ad Ann. 15, 12). 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into Zamua as well (differently Liverani 1992, 53). Are the toponyms *E-ri-na* (OB Šušarra, Eidem 1992, 88b with refs., see 50 and cf. Aslour 1987, 22) and MA *na-ri-ni-ni* (Nashf 1982, 37) related to *na-ri-ni-ni* (cf. perhaps *U-ri-na*, which is described as a frontier-place of Lullubum in the "Sargon geography", Weidner 1952-53, 4, 12, cf. also Frayne 1992, 74f.). The settlements 4, *na-ri-be-e* (poss. the main town), 5, *na-ri-be-e*, 6, *na-ri-be-e*, 7, *na-ri-be-e* and 8, *na-ri-be-e* are also recorded (Grayson 1996, 196f.; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, i, 46f.). For *na-ri-be-e* see above, 1.10.1.

8.8. Sambi

na-Su-ni-bi (to be kept apart from *Su-bi*, pace Herzfeld 1938, 166 and Yusifov 1986, 87) was presumably part of Inner Zamua. Sambi was situated between *na-Ni-ki-pa* (above, 2.1.1.1, 5) and 1, *na-ri-be-e* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 15, 418). The little river 2, *B/Pu-ri* flowed between them,³⁸ presumably on the way from Mannea to Assyria if Fuchs's restoration (*agnad* Frahm 1997-98, 402 ad 98f., 17) is correct. For further ramifications, such as the conditional inclusion of 8.9.8.1, 3-6 in Sambi, see below ad 8.9.8.1, 6. The earliest occurrences are from the late 820s or the early 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., gent. *na-Su-ni-ba-A*, Grayson 1996, 184f.; Sami-Adad V A.O.103.1, ii, 31, 39), unless the ascription of A.O.102.1092, which has *na-Su-ni-ba-A*, to Shalmaneser III is valid (see Grayson 1996, 172f., but his statement that "all the names given occur in texts of Shalmaneser III" is imprecise; it may alternatively be ascribed to Adad-narari III, see above, 0). Seven mountains (actually six, but seven is a stereotypical number) were situated on the way from Sambi to Surikaš (above, 1.9; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 28f., see Levine 1973a, 19; 1974, 114; Vera Chumaza 1994, 96): 3, *na-Si-na-in-d*, 4, *na-Bi-ni-na* (a variant of 1.1, 11 above? the Assyrian scribe compared it with Akkad, *herim* 'remote'). 5, *na-Ti-ni-na*, 6, *na-Si-na-bi-ri*, 7, *na-Ab-si-ni*, and 8, *na-Si-na* (= *na-Si-na*), below, 8.9.6.1).

8.9. Zamua

See Billerbeck 1898, *passim*, esp. 38ff.; Liverani 1992, 46ff., 104f., 126f., 136f., 146, 154 and figs. 4, 5,

18, 24, 25, 27 (generally following Speiser 1928 in the identification of most locales with modern sites), Dagara and Kisirtu in Western Zamua (the former in the basin of the Tasiq Chai according to Levine 1989, 86) are not included here because they were ruled and presumably inhabited — at least partly — by Arameans. Like Sambi, no rulers are associated with the following locales:

1, *na-Af-e-ni* was situated between 2, *na-Si-na-ki* (near the region of Dagara and not far from the Diyala, see Liverani 1992, 51) and 3, *na-A-ri-ri* (modern Azani? see Speiser 1928, 25 with n. 45, provided it is not a case of assonance), 4, *na-Ba-a-ri* (Dikranoff 1956a, 102, n. 4; 156f., Orlan? is to be differentiated from both Ba-Bari (7.5.4.2) and Til-Bari (in northeastern Babylonia, pace Billerbeck 1898, 25). The suggestion of Frayne (1992, 80) that *Ba-ra-mu*/*Bar-ra-mu*/*Bar-me-tu* is the forerunner of Bira is unacceptable, 5, *na-Thi-ri-ni* is mentioned after Ammali (below, 8.9.7).

8.9.1. Inner Zamua

8.9.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

**ku* (gent. *na-Si-na-d*, cf. Frayne 1992, 80) is to be sought east of the pass of *na-Bi-ni-na* and not far from Lake Zeribar, where the idean warriors took refuge. Shalmaneser III crossed the Kullar pass and established a fortress in Inner Zamua in 843 or 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, A.O.102.6, iii, 58ff.) before proceeding to Mannea. It is not known whether this unnamed fortress is the same as the one which was later named *Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra* (cf. below, 8.9.8.1, 6).

8.9.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1, *Ni-gi-de-ra* and 2, *Ni-gi-de-ra-na* from Inner Zamua (Grayson 1996, 52; Shalm, III A.O.102.10, ii, 8, but the detailed account in Grayson 1996, 36; A.O.102.6, ii, 11 and 104; A.O.102.28, 42, has only *Ni-gi-de-ra*/*Ni-gi-de-ra-na*, *Ni-gi-de-ra-na* and *Ni-gi-de-ra-na* (Grayson 1996, 65; A.O.102.14, 51f.; the former from Idu); *Ni-gi-de-ra*, *Ni-gi-de-ra-na* (Grayson 1996, 75; A.O.102.16, 25), both 854 B.C. 3, *SAR-si-na* s. of *Me-og-di-na* (= *Ni-gi-de-ra-na*) is mentioned (without specifying his capital, see Dikranoff 1956a, 61) in the course of Sami-Adad V's second campaign to Nairi and Sumbi, and his third campaign to Nairi, Hubukia and Sumbi at the end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 184; A.O.103.1, ii, 23f., 38).

8.9.2. B/Pu-ni

8.9.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1, *na-B/Pu-ni-a-si*, *na-B/Pu-ni-is* (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 52f.) was situated inside 2, *na-Ni-ni* = Lullubian *Na-na-ba-pu* (modern Pir Omar Gudrun, see Billerbeck 1898, 26; cf. Speiser 1928, 18 and Liverani 1992, 48, 53) in Western Zamua.

8.9.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1, *na-Na-si-na* king of *na-B/Pu-ni-a-si*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 35); 2, *na-na-re-e* the B/Punesian (*na-B/Pu-ni-a-si*), 854 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 104; Shalm, III A.O.102.28, 42, see Schramm 1973, 82, 87ff.; Radner 1998a).

8.9.3. Dur-Lullubni

8.9.3.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1, *MA Dur-Lullubni* > NA *Dur* (see Ungü 1938) may be identical with *na-Dur*, which is mentioned together with *na-U-a-na* (cf. NA *Zamua*), Nashf 1982, 278); 2, *na-na-ba-pu* (see Liverani 1992, 48). The former is defined as Kiriara's capital whereas the latter is described as his fortress (*ku dunnān*).

8.9.3.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

Ki-ni-ni-a-na, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, i, 40; *Ki-ni-ni-a-na* ii, 69; 246; A.O.101.17, 53); cf. Levine 1973a, 19.

8.9.4. Arziu

8.9.4.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1, *na-A-ri-ni* (Ham) was presumably near 2, *na-Ni-ni-na* (cf. Liverani 1992, 54; Matilla 1998, 3; *na-A-ri-ni*, cf. Liverani 1992, 49f., who regards 5, *na-Ga-ni-ri* and 6, *na-Di-ni* as two peaks of Mt. Nispi and points out that *na-Bi-ni* of Dagana was situated between these two peaks). Nispi was a sacred mountain among the Lullubians: *na-Bi-na* was worshipped at Bair (in Haman, cf. above, 1.14; Edzard 1973, 76, ii, 44; *na-Bi-na* and also at Sinurum (Gelb and Kienast 1990, 370f.; 13, 16, 49) in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.

8.9.4.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM (HOMIATY)

1, *A-ri*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 207; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 73); 2, *na-Di-na* ruler of Arziu, Sargon II's time (see Matilla 1998).

8.9.5. Sipirmena

na-Si-pi-ri-na, *na-Si-pi-ri-na* (Grayson 1991, 207; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 75 and 248; A.O.101.17, iii, 97 resp.; see Liverani 1992, 54; cf. Speiser 1930, 56f.) was probably near Arziu.

8.9.6. Zamui (see Liverani 1992, 52f.)

8.9.6.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1, *na-Za-mui* was presumably near Sambi if *na-Si-na* is the same mountain as *na-Si-na* (see 8.8, above); 2, *na-La-na* was not far from 3, *na-Na-ak-di-na*, renamed Tukulti-Assur-asbat, perhaps near Suleimaniyah according to Levine 1989, 86f., and Hukun (8.9.2.1, 2) according to Grayson 1991, 207f.; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 76f.; Aradhi was one step before 4, *[na-Si-na-na-d] [na-Si-na-na-d]* according to the Zamua itinerary (Levine 1989, 76f., 116f.; = 12 below?); 5, *na-Bi-na-ri* (see Liverani 1992, 52), 6, *na-Di-ni* (prob. modern Takabla according to Speiser 1928, nsp and Liverani 1992, 53), *na-Di-ni* (= 8.7, 3 above), 7, *na-E-ri-ni* (modern Shilar or Qizila according to Speiser 1928, 27 and Liverani 1992, 53), *na-Si-na*, 8, *na-E-ri-na*, 9, *na-Si-na* (near Baeh according to Liverani 1992, 54), 10, *na-A-ri-ni-ri*, 11, *na-A-ri-ni*, and 12, *na-Pa-ri-ni* (Grayson 1991, 206f.; A.O.101.1, ii, 60ff., poss. modern Parazan according to Speiser 1928, 28f., cf. Liverani 1992, 54; Orlan?); 13, *na-Si-na*, and 14, *na-Si-na*.

8.9.6.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

A-mi-ka, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 206; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 61), poss. Orlan.

8.9.7. Ammali/Mamli (poss. modern Minimid, see

Speiser 1928, 26; Liverani 1992, 51)

1, *A-mi-na*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 205; Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.1, ii, 50), Orlan.

8.9.8. Unspecified

8.9.8.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYM

1, *na-A-ri-ni*/*Dur-Akku* is possibly modern Bakaniwa (see Speiser 1928, 28; 1930, 10n with n. 52; Liverani 1992, 55f.). Is 2, *na-Bi-na* (one stage after Altia/Dur-Akku) related to MB *Pa-na-ba-pu*, a Kaniwa name of Babylon (see Balkan 1954, 90f.; cf. Nishf 1982, 47f.) If this is so, then it would be another

indication of Babylonian presence in Zama (notably in nearby Atila) presumably during the early post-Kassite period (cf. F.E. Peiser in Schrader 1890, 272 ad v. 1; Brinkman 1968, 154f. with n. 929; Liverani 1992, 55 with n. 236). The itinerary from Atila/Dūr-Asur to Lake Zoribar consists almost entirely of locales which served in all probability as Assyrian outposts against Mannea and changed hands between Assyria and Mannea, viz. 3. *Halṣu ša Gur-A+A* (named after the Gurneans, a West Semitic tribe in the service of the Assyrians), 4. *Gupni ša Bel-Harran*, 5. *Halṣu ša Adad-rēman*, and 6. *Dūr-ḫuluti-apil-Ešarra* (Levine 1989, 78f., 26ff.; see Zadok 1995a, 434f.; Lanfranchi 1995, 134f.). The last point was probably on the Mannean border in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, who received there the tribute of Irānu king of Mannea. *Dūr-ḫuluti-apil-Ešarra* (the original name is unknown, cf. above, 8.9.1.1) was considered part of Sumbi if Fuchs's restoration (*apil Frahm* 1997-98, 402 ad 98f., 17) is correct. The same may apply to stages 3-5 on this itinerary. All these outposts start with *dūru* or *halṣu* 'fortress' which amply define their function. The gentilic of the toponym 7. *Šu-Ku-mi-ša-a-4* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 202, 9) is recorded in a document from Zama (see Zadok 1995a, 434); 8. *Šu-HAR-ti-B(-A-A)* (gent., see below 8.10, 2).

8.9.8.2. PROSONOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *Pa-ra-ū*, Birtu (presumably in Zama, cf. Levine 1973, 18f. with n. 69), 717 B.C., concerning horses: horses from Mannea are mentioned in the preceding entry (cf. Postgate 1974, 21; 7.2.5), poss. Olran; 2. *Lu-ud-ḫu-pa-[A+A]*, time of Sargon II (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 138, 6) i.e. 'Lullubian' (gent.; a commoner active northeast of Assyria proper); 3. *La-ar-ku-ū-la* city lord of *Šu-Za-mu-ū*, time of Esarhaddon (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

8.10. Bit-Kilam:ah and environs (702 B.C.)

1. *Šu-Šu-Ki-lam-ša-ah* (Luckenbill 1924, 26, v. 72; Kass.), 2. *Šu-Ha-ar-di-šu-pi* was compared with *Šu-HAR-ti-B(-A-A)*, mentioned together with Zama, cf. Liverani 1992, 91f. by Diakonoff 1956a, 158, n. 2; 3. *Šu-Bit-ki-mu-ba-ri* (Luckenbill 1924, 73; both annexed to the province of Arrapha), Levine (1973b, 313f.) is of the opinion, that unlike Bit-Kilam:ah, 2, 3 might have been situated more to the west.

8.11. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (27 = 100%; 8.5.3 as well as the gentilics 8.5.7 and 8.9.8.2, 2, i.e. 'Kummenean' and 'Lullubian' respectively, are not counted)

(a) Old Iranian (1 = 3.7%): 881 B.C.: *A-ra-āš-ra* (8.9.7, 1 see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998c). Just possible (2 = 7.4%): 881 B.C.: *A-me-ka* (8.9.6.2, see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998b). - 717 B.C.: *Pa-ra-ū* (8.9.8.2, 1) may render 'Pa-ra-ū' 'first' (see Zadok 1976, 388b). (b) Old Iranian or (rather) Hurro-Urartian (1 = 3.7%): *A-ri-ri*, [4-ri] *LA-e* (8.5, 1) — [Parker and] Schmitt 1998 follows Grantovsky's Iranian etymology. However, a Hurrian derivation seems plausible, seeing that *A-ri-(i)-ho* is very common in the Hurrian oonomasticon (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 203b). In addition, the ending *-LA-e* is extant in other names from Kummene and neighbouring regions (see presently), which are not Iranian, but seem to belong to a Hurro-Urartian milieu. (c) Probably Hurro-Urartian (2 = 7.4%): *Šu-ni-LA-e*, 8.6, 1, cf. *Šu-a-ni-ē*, *Šu-a-ni* (Gelb et al. 1943, 249a, 250b) and perhaps Huran, *Šu-ni-ē-hi-nē* (Melikishvili 1971b, 271f.; 455, 4). Is *Šu-ni* (merchant, Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 224 c, 14; acted or was based in Arruhina) the same name? Several names from Kummene and environs end in *-LA-e* (8.4.1, 2, as well as the toponym *Da-A+A-e*, 8.4.2.1, 4). Is this an indication that they are basically Hurro-Urartian although this is not apparent from their bases? *Bi-ri-a-un* (8.5, 8) is probably Urartian according to Parker 1998c. (d) Hurro-Urartian? (3 = 11.1%): *Bi-Pu-ra-e* (8.5, 9), cf. *Bi-Pu-ra* (Neu 1996, 398 and *passim*)? *E-ci-LA-e* (8.5, 5) may be compared with MB (DUMU) *E-ci-la* (Hölscher 1996, 76a) and (DUMU) *E-ze-e* (from Tammach; for a West Semitic etymology see Sivan 1984, 205). *Ha-ni-ū* (8.2.2, 2), cf. perhaps MB Nuzi *Ha-mi-a* Hurm? see Gelb et al. 1943, 214a). (e) Atypical (short and ubiquitous; 5 = 18.51%; 8.2.2, 1, 8.4.2.2, 8.9.4.2, 1, *Bi-ni-ba*, *Ba-bu-a-Ba-ba-a* (8.1, 1), *Da-da-a* (8.9.4, 2; Mattila 1998: 'allative')). (f) West Semitic (1 = 3.7%): *Ca-ma-hi* (8.5, 6, not Akkadian, see Zadok 1995a, 436). (g) Possibly West Semitic (1 = 3.7%): *E-ki-LA-e* (8.5, 4, cf. Vanderroost 1998). (h) Unaffiliated, but not isolated (6 = 22.22%): Is the first component of *La-ar-ku-ū-la* (8.9.8.2, 3, cf. Grantovsky 1970, 125) related to *La-a-ra* (8.9.5.1, 1) and *La-ar-bi-pu-ša* (8.9.3.1, 2)? For names ending in *-di-hu-ri*, viz. *Ki-ir-tell-i-ara* (8.9.3.2, see Grantovsky 1970, 122.3 for unsuccessful attempts at an Iranian

etymology) and *Ale-eg-di-ara*, *Ni-ig-di-ara*, *Ni-ig-de-ra-ma*, *Ni-ig-de-ru-ru* (8.9.1.2, 1, 2), see Hüsing 1998, 360; Streck 1900, 262, n. 1; Speiser 1928, 18 (hardly Hurrian as the names from Nuzi, which are quoted by Speiser, actually end in *-at*, the interpretation offered by Speiser 1930, 113, n. 92 is also unlikely) and Diakonoff 1956b, 66, *Ba-ci-la* (8.4.1, 1) can be compared with the toponym: *Šu-Ba-zi*, *Šu-Ba-za* referring to a region in the nearby Southern Armenian Plateau (cf. Astour 1987, 23): *Mu-ša-ša* (8.9.2.2, 1, cf. 3.10 above). (i) Unaffiliated and isolated (5 = 18.51%): 8.3.2, 1; 8.4.1, 2; 8.5, 7; 8.9.1.2, 3; 8.9.2.2, 2. (j) Summary. Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 1 = 40.74%; 744-705: 14 = 51.85%; 704-600: 2 = 7.4%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 1000-745 (11 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (9.09%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (9.09%); atypical 3 (27.27%); unaffiliated (Lullubian?) 3 (27.27%); unaffiliated (with parallels) 1 (9.09%); unaffiliated and isolated 2 (18.18%). 744-705 (14 = 100%): possibly Old Iranian 1 (7.14%); possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 (7.14%); probably Hurro-Urartian 2 (14.28%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (21.42%); atypical 2 (14.28%); West Semitic 1 (7.14%); possibly West Semitic 1 (7.14%); unaffiliated 3 (21.42%). 704-600 (2 = 100%): unaffiliated (Lullubian?) 1 (50%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (50%).

8.12. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (84 = 100%)

(a) Pre-first millennium (11 = 13.09%): *Ni-mi* (Lullubian *Ki-ni-šu-pa*, 8.9.2.1, 2); *Ni-wi-pi* (8.9.4.1, 4, defined as *NI-šu-ba*). Frayne (1992, 73f., 79, 83f.) regards *A-ni-ki-ti-ni* and *Šu-bi-pu-e* as forenames of *Pa-ra-ak-ki-a*, 8.9.6.1, 3; hardly Hurrian, *pace* Speiser 1930, 145, n. 86, who presented a different segmentation on 143) and *Šu-bi-pu-a* (8.9.6.1, 9) respectively. *Ad-da-ūš* (8.3.1, 4; MA *A-da-ūš*; 8.1; 8.2; 8.5; 8.7; 8.9.3; 8.9.3.1, 1. (b) Pre-first millennium? (2 = 2.38%): 8.7, 2. (c) Possibly homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms (2 = 2.38%): *Ši-ri-š* (gent. *Ši-ri-š-i-š-A+A*, 8.3.1, 6) is possibly homonymous with *Šu-er-šim*, *Šu-er-š*, *Šu-er-še* (cf. Astour 1987, 33f.). Is 8.3.1 linguistically related to MA *HA-ra-ga-mi* (cf. Nashef 1982, 110f.; Astour 1987, 209)? (d) Old Iranian? (2 = 2.38%): *Pi-š-i-ri-ša* (8.9.6.1, 12; = *Bi[il]-ar-zi-ri-š*, 8.9.6.1, 47), cf. Av. (Yast 13, 123) *Pi-š-i-ri-ša* (Eilers 1954, 328; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 125) or non-Iranian: Speiser (1930,

92 with n. 21) points out that *-ri-š* is also recorded in Arzilian names (and in several pre-Iranian onomasticon). In Zama *-ri-š* is extant in *Ar-š-i-ri-š* (8.9.3.1, 3) as well. (e) I cannot regard *Pa-ra-ak-ki-a* as a forename of *Pi-š-i-ri-š* (pace Frayne 1992, 80). *Ba-a-ra* (8.9.2.1) < *Ba-ra*: Grantovsky 1970, 125f.; cf. *Bi-Ba-ri*, 7.5.4.2, but the form is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation (cf. ad 3.3, 1 above). (f) Kassite (2 = 2.38%): *Šu-Ki-lam-ša-ah* (8.10, 1, see Balkan 1954, 92). *Šu-Ku-ba-i* (8.10, 3), both of the type *Bi-ri-š* + anthroponym. Doubtful (2 = 2.38%): *Ha-ar-di-šu-pi* (8.10, 2) was compared with *Šu-HAR-ti-š-A+A*, 8.9.8.1, 8. The latter is perhaps linguistically related to MA *Šu-Hi-b-di-š* (Nashef 1982, 128). (g) Kassite? (1 = 1.19%): 8.9.8.1, 2. (h) Hurro-Urartian (3 = 3.57%): *Ar-ri-š* (8.9.4.1, 1, cf. Speiser 1930, 91, n. 16; Gelb et al. 1943, 203b, 278b) is homonymous with the anthroponym *Ar-ri-š* referring to at least two different individuals (Kessler 1998b). *Ar-ri-š-i-ri-š* (8.2.1, 3; hardly Olran, despite Eilers 1988, 440a, index, *ar*) is based on Hur. *ar-ri-š*, the MB anthroponym *Ar-ri-š* from Nuzi (Gelb et al. 1943, 201a7), as well as *Ar-da-ri-a*, *Ar-da-re-a*, [*Ar-di-ri-a*] (an Urartian governor, Radner 1998a: 'necunum' name, prob. Urar. *ri*; var. *Ar-di-ri-a*, Piepkorn 1933, 57, n. 13; VAT 79471 MA *Ar-da-ri-a* in Mal-Lullubai (Zama, Nashef 1982, 31) is homonymous. 8.8, 5. (b) Atypical (8 = 9.52%): *Bi-Pu-ri-š* (8.8, 2, cf. Eiden 1992, 56b ad *Bi-Pu-ri-š*); *Da-A+A-e*, *Pa-LA-e* (8.4.2, 1, 4); 8.4.1, 8.4.2.1, 3; 8.8, 1, 8; 8.9.1.1, (c) Akkadian (4 = 4.76%); the renamed places 8.9.6.1, 3, 8.9.8.1, 1 are not counted; 8.9.8.1, 3-6. Doubtful (2 = 2.38%): *Ar-Lal-ḫi* (8.9.6.1, 6) may denote 'the Lullubian river' (the CYC sign *LAL* is indifferent to vowel quality; for *niru* 'river' + adjective in the masculine gender cf. e.g. N.L.B. *Niru-lu-bi-ri*, Pohl 1933, 51, 107; 8.8, 4 (with folk etymology, cf. *Šu-er-ri-š* 8.9.4.1.7). (j) West Semitic (2 = 2.38%): 8.9.6.1, 14, 8.9.7. (k) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated (11 = 13.09%): *Šu-ni-mi* (8.8, 3), cf. MA *Šu-ni-mi-ka* on Tūr-Abdin (Nashef 1982, 130f.). *Šu-me-ri-š* (8.3, 1, 2) can be compared with the OB toponym *Šu-me-ri-š* (cf. *Šu-me-ri-š* in the Hurrian gentilic *Šu-me-ri-š* from Susanna (Eidem 1992, 89b with refs. cf. MB Nuzi *Šu-me-ri-š* in *Šu-me-ri-š*, Fincke 1993, 253f. and Astour 1987, 8) and perhaps *Šu-me-ri-š* in *Ar-ri-š*, above, 1.1.1 *lu-šim* and *Šu-ri-ri* (located much nearer to the northwest, on the Urartian border near the province of the *rab-šag*). Tadjiri 1994, 126; Summ, 1, 30). *Šu-mi-bi* (8.8) may be linguistically related to the

OB anthroponym *Si-na-bi-ka* from Tikunani (Salvini 1996, 76, vii, 31). With *-ni* (common in Urartian toponyms; §2.1), 4, 7, 8.9.5; with *-ni* (cf. just above): 8.9.4.1, 3; 8.9.6.1, 4; 8.7, 2, 3, 8 resemble several toponyms in Urartu (cf. Salvini 1967, 65). (d) **Unaffiliated and Isolated** (32 = 38.09%): *Bi-di-ir-gi* (8.9.5.1, 2) is hardly Hurrian as understood by Späcker 1928, 21, n. 36. I cannot agree with Frayne 1997, 80f. that *Bi-na-a-a-a-Ni-a* is a toponym of *Bi-Pri-na-a-si*, *Bi-Pri-na-is* (8.9.2.1, 8.2.1, 1, 2, 5, 6; 8.3.1, 3, 5, 3.4.2.1, 2; 8.7, 8.6, 4, 7; 8.8, 6 (cf. *Si-na-bi-ka*); 7, 8.9, 1-3; 8.9.3.1, 2, 5, 6; 8.9.4.1, 2; 8.9.5, 8.9.5.1, 7; 8.9.6.1, 1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 12; 8.9.8.1, 1). (n) **Summary. Chronological distribution:** 1000-745: 58 = 69.04%; 744-705: 16 = 19.04%; 744-705/704-600: 6 = 7.14%; 704-600: 4 = 4.76%. **Ethno-linguistic classification:** 1000-745 (58 = 100%): pre-first millennium 10 (17.24%); pre-first millennium? 2 (3.44%); homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms 2 (3.44%); Old Iranian? 2 (3.44%); originally anthroponyms; possibly Kassite 1 (1.72%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (1.72%); atypical 1 (1.72%); Akkadianised? 2 (3.44%); West Semitic 2 (3.44%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 11 (18.96%); unaffiliated and isolated 23 (39.66%). 744-705 (16 = 100%): Hurro-Urartian 2 (12.5%); atypical 6 (37.5%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 2 (12.5%); unaffiliated and isolated 6 (37.5%). 744-705/704-600 (6 = 100%): Kassite 1 (16.66%); Akkadian 3 (50%); Akkadian-West Semitic 1 (16.66%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 1 (16.66%); 704-600 (4 = 100%): Kassite 2 (50%) possibly Kassite 1 (25%); atypical 1 (25%).

9. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Individuals from Media or bearing Iranian names in Assyria proper (with various degrees of plausibility; arranged chronologically wherever applicable):⁴⁰

A Mede (*Med-A-A*) is possibly recorded as early as 738 B.C. together with a certain *Ban-z-i* (see Zadok 1976c, 388b; the reading of the former is just one of several alternatives to *KLR-A-A*, cf. Zadok 1997d, 213). Another occurrence of the latter (an identical or homonymous *Ban-z-i*) dates from 734 B.C. It is linguistically related to *Ban-sha-a* (cf. (undated), Fales and Postgate 1995, 133, iii, 9; *Ku-ta-ir* (cf. n. 23 above). *A-bi-ki-ta-ir* = time of Sargon II (see Breckwold and Schmitt 1998). *Pa-u-ta-m-na*

(Kwasman and Parpola 1991, 181, 1: *pa-ta-ni*, 4; *pa-ti*; 182, 3) < **Fratimna* (see Tallqvist 1914, 180b), 683 B.C. (cf. Zadok 1976c, 388f). *U-ris-a-a* (Kwasman and Parpola 1991, 91, 7; 681.0 B.C.) is Camanite, Akkad. (cf. Zadok 1978b, 59b) or Oiran. **Kara* = 'the desirable' (cf. Zadok 1978b, 73b). *Pa-ar-ur-a-a* — possibly Ashurbanipal's time (Kataja and Whiting 1995, 63, 6; see Zadok 1990 and cf. Gronlovsky 1970, 325). *Pa-u-ran-bi-ka*, Ashur, sometime between 647 and 612 B.C. (Zadok 1997c, 63). *U-di-ni* (alternatively Akkadian), undated (prob. Sargonid; Fales and Postgate 1991, 112 r. 3). Very little pertinent material (presumably from the last decade of the seventh century B.C.) is contained in Radner 1999 (several names are tentatively interpreted by me *apud* Radner 1999: 202 ad 63f. — *Pris-ia* and *[Mu]-ni-ir* (both Kass.); 205 ad 63: *Ku-ta-na* (cf. Kass. *kutal*); *Da-e-tu-ir-bi-ma* — cf. the toponym *Da-tu-um-bi*; *Ku-ta-na* — cf. MB Nuzi *Ku-ta-na*, cf. OBI Mar. Ku-ta-ir; *Ku-ta-na-na* — cf. the homonymous toponym (above, 4.9.1, 1) and Kass. *kut* (Balkan 1954, 152).

10. GENERAL STATISTICS

Anthroponymy (297 = 100%)

Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 58 = 28.01%; 744-705: 122 = 58.93%; 744-705/704-600: 2 = 0.96%; 704-600: 25 = 12.07%. **Ethno-linguistic classification.** 1000-745 (58 = 100%): Old Iranian 13 (22.41%); Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (1.72%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (1.72%); probably Old Iranian 2 (3.44%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (1.72%); Old Iranian? 1 (1.72%); Kassite 2 (3.44%); Kassite title 1 (1.72%); Kassite 1 (1.72%); Elamite? 1 (1.72%); atypical 9 (15.51%); Akkadian 1 (1.72%); Akkadian title 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian? region 3 (5.17%); unaffiliated with other parallels 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated and isolated 18 (31.03%). 744-705 (122 = 100%): homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.81%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names or Old Iranian 1 (0.81%); Old Iranian 48 (39.34%); Old Iranian or atypical 2 (1.63%); Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.81%); possibly Old Iranian 4 (3.27%); possibly Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.81%); Old Iranian? 8 (6.55%); Kassite 6 (4.91%); Kassite? 2 (1.63%);

probably Hurro-Urartian 4 (3.27%); Hurro-Urartian? 8 (6.55%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (0.81%); Elamite? 2 (1.63%); atypical 9 (7.37%); Akkadian 6 (4.91%); West Semite 1 (0.81%); possibly West Semite 1 (0.81%); unaffiliated with internal parallels 1 (0.81%); unaffiliated and isolated 15 (12.29%). 744-705/704-600 (2 = 100%): atypical 1 (50%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (50%). 704-600 (25 = 100%): Old Iranian 7 (28%); Old Iranian? 4 (16%); Kassite 1 (4%); Kassite? 1 (4%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (4%); Hurro-Urartian? 1 (4%); Elamite 1 (4%); atypical 1 (4%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (4%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian? region 1 (4%); unaffiliated and isolated 6 (24%). **In all periods taken together:** (a) Old Iranian 67 (32.36%); (b) Old Iranian or Elamite? Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.48%); (c) Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (0.48%); (d) Old Iranian or pre-Iranian 1 (0.48%); (e) Old Iranian or atypical 2 (0.96%); (f) probably Old Iranian 2 (0.96%); (g) possibly Old Iranian 5 (2.41%); (h) possibly Old Iranian or Hurrian 1 (0.48%); (i) Old Iranian? 14 (6.76%); (j) Kassite 11 (5.31%); (k) Kassite? 5 (2.41%); (l) Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.96%); (m) probably Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.96%); (n) possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.48%); (o) Hurro-Urartian? 9 (4.34%); (p) Elamite 2 (0.96%); (q) Elamite? 2 (0.96%); (r) probably pre-Iranian 1 (0.48%); (s) atypical 22 (10.62%); (t) Akkadian 6 (2.89%); (u) West Semite 1 (0.48%); (v) possibly West Semite 1 (0.48%); (w) unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 11 (5.31%); (x) unaffiliated (with a reduplicated syllable) 1 (0.48%); (y) unaffiliated and isolated 36 (17.39%).

Toponymy (447 = 100%)

Chronological distribution: 1000-745: 158 = 35.34%; 744-705: 238 = 52.99%; 744-705/704-600: 10 = 2.23%; 704-600: 43 = 9.61%. **Ethno-linguistic classification.** 1000-745 (158 = 100%): pre-first millennium 13 (8.22%); pre-first millennium? 3 (1.89%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names 3 (1.89%); quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 2 (1.26%); Old Iranian 4 (2.53%); Old Iranian? 5 (3.16%); Kassite 4 (2.53%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.63%); possibly Kassite 1 (0.63%); Kassite? 5 (3.16%); Hurro-Urartian 2 (1.26%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (1.89%); atypical 3 (1.89%); Akkadian 3 (1.89%); Akkadianised? 3 (1.89%); West Semite 2 (1.26%); unaffiliated with

parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 8 (5.06%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 5 (3.16%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian? region 2 (1.26%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian? or Hurro-Urartian regions 6 (3.79%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian-Quian? regions (*Agzi, ka/ir*) 4 (2.53%); unaffiliated with internal parallels 8 (5.06%); unaffiliated and isolated 66 (41.77%); 744-705 (238 = 100%): pre-first millennium 2 (0.84%); gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym 1 (0.42%); pre-first millennium? 2 (0.84%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names 5 (2.11%); possibly quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.42%); Old Iranian 22 (9.33%); Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym) 1 (0.42%); possibly Old Iranian 11 (4.66%); Old Iranian? 9 (3.81%); Kassite 3 (1.27%); possibly Kassite 1 (0.42%); Kassite? 7 (2.96%); Hurro-Urartian 5 (2.11%); Hurro-Urartian? 16 (6.77%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.42%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 3 (1.27%); Akkadian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.42%); Elamite 1 (0.42%); Elamite? 2 (0.84%); atypical 8 (3.38%); Akkadian or atypical 1 (0.42%); Akkadianised or atypical 1 (0.42%); Akkadian? 7 (2.96%); Akkadianised 1 (0.42%); partly Akkadian? 1 (0.42%); West Semite (Aramaicised) 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Kassite or Hurro-Urartian regions 2 (0.84%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian-Quian? regions (*Agzi, ka/ir*) 8 (3.38%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 4 (1.69%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 10 (4.23%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Elamite or Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Elamite territory 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated, but related to another toponym in the same region 10 (4.23%); unaffiliated, but related to another toponym in the same region 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated and isolated 85 (36.01%); 744-705/704-600 (10 = 100%): pre-first millennium? 1 (10%); possibly Old Iranian 2 (20%); Kassite 1 (10%); Akkadian 3 (30%); Akkadian-West Semite 1 (10%); unaffiliated, but not isolated (with *-ni*) 1 (10%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (10%); 704-600 (43 = 100%): pre-first millennium 3 (6.97%); quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian 5 (11.62%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (2.32%); perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian or Kassite 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (2.32%); Kassite 5 (11.62%); possibly Kassite 5 (11.62%);

Kassite? 1 (2.32%); Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.65%); atypical 2 (4.65%); Akkadian 1 (2.32%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 2 (4.65%); unaffiliated and isolated 12 (27.9%). – In all periods taken together: (a) pre-first millennium 18 (4.02%); (b) pre-first millennium? 6 (1.34%); (c) gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym 1 (0.22%); (d) homonymous with pre-first millennium names 5 (1.11%); (e) quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.22%); (f) possibly quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 3 (0.67%); (g) quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 3 (0.67%); (h) Old Iranian 31 (6.93%); (i) Old Iranian or Kassite 1 (0.22%); (j) Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.22%); (k) Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (0.22%); (l) Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym): 1 (0.22%); (m) possibly Old Iranian 13 (2.99%); (n) Old Iranian? 14 (3.13%); (o) Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (0.22%); (p) perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (q) Kassite 12 (2.68%); (r) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.44%); (s) possibly Kassite? 7 (1.56%); (t) Kassite? 13 (2.99%); (u) Kassite (very doubtful) 1 (0.22%); (v) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 3 (0.67%); (w) Kassite? 1 (0.22%); (x) Hurro-Urartian 7 (1.56%); (y) Hurro-Urartian? 2 (0.44%); (z) Elamite 1 (0.22%); (a') Elamite? 2 (0.44%); (b') atypical 13 (2.99%); (c') atypical or Akkadian 1 (0.22%); (d') atypical or Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (e') Akkadian 14 (3.13%); (f') Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (g') Akkadianised? 3 (0.67%); (h') Akkadian-West Semitic 2 (0.44%); (i') hybrid (Akkadian and non-Semitic) 1 (0.22%); (j') partly Akkadian? 1 (0.22%); (k') West Semite 2 (0.44%); (l') West Semite (Aramaicised) 1 (0.22%); (m') unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 74 (16.55%); (n') Unaffiliated and isolated 164 (36.68%).

11. SOME CONCLUSIONS

There is little doubt that Greater Media underwent a process of Iranisation during the Neo-Assyrian period. The Iranians were the largest group (maximum 45.37 – minimum 32.26%) in Greater Media. All the other discernible ethno-linguistic groups (non-Iranians): for the problem of ascription to "Lullubian" see above, 3) are far behind. Next come the Kassites (7.72–5.31%) and the Hurro-Urartians (6.73–0.96%). The Iranians were the largest group in all of the seven Median regions (1–7). Only in Kurdistan (including Zanjan) were the Hurro-Urartians (with various degrees of

plausibility) the largest group (22.21–7.4%). Elsewhere the Kassites were the second-largest group ("Inner" and Western Media: 18.18–13.15% and 12.24–6.12% respectively; Northwestern Media and Parsua: 6.66% and 6.88–3.44% respectively). Only in Mannea and its environs, which were on the Urartian border, were the Hurro-Urartians the second-largest group (14.8–3.7% compared with 3.7% Kassites). The ethnic characterisation of Mannea naturally refers only to its ruling class, as very few commoners' names are mentioned in the sources. The evidence for the ethno-linguistic character of the Mannaeans (843–c. 600 B.C.) was conveniently summarised by Boehmer 1964. His conclusions were generally accepted (cf. Kaskai 1977, esp. chap. 2). Boehmer is of the opinion that the Mannaeans were a Hurrian group with a slight Kassite admixture (cf. Kaskai 1977, 39f. with lit.). It is unlikely that there was any ethno-linguistic unity in Mannea. Like other peoples of the Iranian plateau the Mannaeans were subjected to an ever increasing Iranian (i.e. Indo-European) penetration. Boehmer's analysis of several anthroponyms and toponyms needs modification and augmentation. Melikishvili (1949, 60) tried to confine the Iranian presence in Mannea to its periphery, pointing out that both Dabakku and Bagdari were active in the periphery of Mannea, but this is imprecise in view of the fact that the names of two early Median rulers, viz. Udaiki and Azi, are explicable in Old Iranian terms. The absurdity of the pan-Turkic approach of Yusifov (1986, *passim*) to the ancient toponymy of Azerbaijan is self-evident. The northwesternmost expanse of Old Iranian anthroponymy reached Musasir and Hubuski. The statements of Levine 1972–73 and Salvini 1982, 356b, namely that the names of the Hubuski rulers are probably Hurrian, should be corrected: one is Iranian, two are atypical, and one is Kassite. The latter is actually a title, which was common among Kassites, but Diakonoff (1983a, 61) was of the opinion that it might have been originally a Qutian title. Liverani (1992, 139) points out that Hurrian anthroponyms seem to be confined to Urartu and its immediate vicinity.⁴¹ This includes Kurme, a region where there is good reason for thinking that dialects related to Hurro-Urartian were spoken.

The relationship between the anthroponymy and the toponymy of each region is not without interest. The Iranian toponymy prevails in Eastern Media (54.54–27.27%), "Inner" Media (32.28–12%), Western Media (18.74–14.58%) and Parsua (10.41–4.16%). It

has the same percentage as the Kassite toponymy in Gairil-pinda and environs (16–4%). The Hurro-Urartian toponymy prevails in Mannea and Northwestern Media (10.95–2.43% and 22.63–3.77% respectively) which bordered on Urartu. In both regions the Iranian toponymy is the second-largest group (9.72–1.21% and 7.54–5.66% respectively; Kassite toponymy has 7.29–3.65% and 5.65–0% respectively), whereas in the regions with dominant Iranian toponymy Kassite is almost everywhere the second-largest group (Parsua: 4.16–2.08%; "Inner" Media 12–4% and Western Media 11.46–7.29%). The Zamuan toponymy has limited Kassite and Hurro-Urartian (cf. MA *An-dar-ia*, 8.12 above) components (5.95–2.38% and 3.57% respectively). Iranian is the second-largest group (4.76–2.38%). On the whole there is a fairly high degree of accord between the toponymy and the anthroponymy of most regions. There is a certain persistence of pre-first millennium toponyms (8–4.23%). In addition, there is a remarkable representation of toponyms which seem to be intrinsic to the region under discussion (such as *kingi*, *ka'ind*, *ka'ine*, etc.). There is some reason to suspect that they are residues of pre-Indo-Iranian dialects. As expected, the pre-Iranian substratum is better represented in the toponymy than in the anthroponymy. No less than 16.53% of the toponyms are linguistically unaffiliated, but have parallels mainly in neighbouring regions, including Hurro-Urartian ones. The low percentage of Akkadian anthroponyms and toponyms accords well with the Babylonian influence, which was already a thing of the past (especially discernible in Southwestern Media, notably Bit-Hamban, cf. Tadmor 1994, 72f. ad Ann. 15.11f.). At least one anthroponym (1.12, 2) is probably due to Assyrian influence or upbringing (as a prominent hostage in the Assyrian court).

Most of the 25 regions, whose names begin with *Bit**, are located in southwestern Media (17.10, 2; 7.15, 1; 7.15, 2 and perhaps 7.15, 5), the upper Diyala basin (7.1b, 7.3), near the Great Khorasan Road (7.4, 7; 7.4, 8; 7.5, 1, 1; 7.5, 4, 1, 1, 2; 7.5, 4, 2; 7.5, 4, 3 and possibly 7.4, 4), the central Zagros and its piedmont (8.10, 1, 3). Several regions, whose names begin with *Bit**, are to be sought in the section of "Inner" Media which is not too far from the Great Khorasan Road (4.7; 4.9, 2; 4.11 and presumably 5.5, 3; 6.4, 1, 2; 6.5; *Bit-ibak*, being a generic term, does not belong here). Such toponyms are not encountered in Mannea and its environs (3.3) are generally written just *Sangihet*. Most of these regions are located in a basically Kassite territory, and the element *Bit* may

continue the Middle Babylonian practice of naming regions after Kassite and other tribes, notably *Bit-Hamban*. This practice was later applied also to the territories of the ever-expanding Iranian tribes.

1 Abbreviations not in von Soden 1965–81 and E. Reimer et al. (eds.), 1999, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute*, Chicago, BOM = Baghdadische Mitteilungen, BNF = Beiträge zur Neuen Assyriologie, KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, PNA 1 = Radner, K., Parpola, S., and Whiting, R.M. 1998 (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, I: "A-G", Helsinki: RECA = *Paikya Kouloukhiopis der klassischen Altertümer*, Stuttgart 1894–, Gnt. = gentile.

I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from unpublished B.M. tablets. My colleague, Dr R. Rockman, kindly consented to improve my English style. All the cuneiform transcriptions are NA unless otherwise indicated. Sonant *r* is rendered as *r*.

Modern Persian and Kurdish toponyms are not given in a phonetic transcription, except for a few cases, where their own etymology is discussed. For a detailed discussion of the NA rules of rendering Old Iranian names see Granovsky 1970, 67ff. The sections on geography and prosopography below are arranged in chronological order whenever applicable.

2 For the latter cf. von Soden 1965–81, 75a and for the former in 10 below.

3 One can add MA *Erapit* (see Gelb in Gelb et al. 1943, 219), is *Soma-na-pa-ra* (below, 6.13, 2, 1) = OIran. **Salva-pa-ra* (Schellertova 1905, 278; cf. Granovsky 1970, 68, 71, 74, 209, 316, 323; Zadok 1976c, 388) originally a title as well? Diskonoff 1991, 15: "lords of lowliness" (= Iran. *vignat*, *dahyapait*) and on the same line of reasoning LB **ma-sa-na-pa-ra* < **masana-pa-ra*, cf. Ebeling 1949, 44 ad 73, 22.

4 Is **Qut-ia* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 304) based on *Qut*-like Akkad. *Qut-ia* in which it would be a reminiscence of the Qutians? *Qut-ia* of Nighat-pileser III is just a homonym of *Qut* at the foot of Mt. Nipur (not identical with it as understood by Astor 1907, 23, n. 441).

5 For instance, Diakonoff 1966a, 138, n. 4) tentatively ascribed a certain toponymic element to Lullubian, Qutian or "Mittanian".

6 *Bit* = anthroponym (in addition to Barmas, -Ranastan, -Bagina, -Kilanzah, -Kuhad and possibly -Langi, Muta, -Barmas) = divine name only -*ibak*.

7 *Bit* = Kassite: 4.7; 7.1b; 7.4, 8; 8.10, 1, 3; *Bit* = Old Iranian: 4.9, 2; 6.4, 1, 2; 7.3; 7.4, 7; 7.5, 1, 1; 7.5, 4, 1, 1, 2; 7.5, 4, 2.

Bit + Hurro-Urartian? 7.15.2; *Bit* + appical: 7.5.4.3; *Bit* + an unspecified element: 7.4.8; 7.15.1; 7.15.5.

The very general and rather impressionistic description of the speech of the inhabitants of Sipuncu is no proof that they spoke Median (pace Billerbeck 1898, 34 with n. 1). At best one may surmise that their dialect differed from that of their neighbors.

It cannot be proven that *-as* here is analogous to *-as* of *Paras* (cf. cf. Levine 1974, 106f., n. 35) as the latter is surely an Indo-Iranian toponym whereas the linguistic affiliation of *Amma* cannot be established (cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 162, n. 5).

For the name of the goddess **Bog-har-tu*, spouse of **Hal-dib-a*, see Schmitt 1980, 191.

Parpola 1970, 331, s.v. compares **Si-ni-ka* (Johns 1901, 920, 2), which is recorded in a tiny fragment without context and date (presumably a geographical list as it is followed by **A-du-ma* and another two toponyms).

The statement of Levine (1977b, 179, n. 8) that "the last time that Manna is mentioned prior to Tiglath-pileser III is 807 B.C." is to be corrected accordingly.

Is **Zu-ka-t-t* of **Ba-qr-re-td* from Ashurbanipal's time (Kamja and Wüster 1995, 50, s. 34) a settlement of deportees from **Zu-ka-t-t*? **Zu-ka-t-t* is tentatively (and without comment) translated as "mercenaries" on 54.

**B-Pu-b-pu-en*, **Hu-ur-tu-en*, **A-t-t-e-e*, *ur-ur-ni-ka*, *pa-ta-a*, **Si-ni-ka*, cf. **Ar-de-di-ka* in Aiada (arch. pass. Urart. arde "city" + *ur-ur*, cf. **Si-ni-ka* with **Si-ni-ka-pa-ta* which precedes it); for *ar-ti* cf. **Sar-ni-ur-di* (Triaucou-Dangin 1912, 282ff.). **Ar-na*, **Sar-ni-t* (to Hur. *hur-ni* cf. Richter 1998, 133 and 6.10, e below?).

It is rendered as an appellative *pa-hu* by Oppenheim 1969, 281, who does not offer a translation, but refers to Ebeling 1933, 64, n. b "Loch, Graben". This passage is not listed in von Soden 1965–81, 869, s.v. *plu*, "Einbruchstelle".

A possibility that *Missi* is a NA form with *ir > as* does not seem impossible: another example of this shift on Iranian soil seems to be *Marubiti* > *Mirani-bi-ti* (see below, 7.10.1.1, 1).

Cf. Zimansky 1990, 9f., who points out that *Meša* was situated east of Kilznu.

But not in the main text where "*Meša* (Messi...)" is retained.

This Zanjan town is listed together with the Mannan region in Parpola 1970, 246f.: the spellings referring to the Mannan region should be transferred to the Innana *Missi* on 248.

Ku-to-ru in line 11 is presumably Kullar (a mountain and possibly a settlement, see Rolfe 1980–83) in which case it would be its earliest attestation.

Another example of *de* interchange in the toponymy of the region of Lake Urmia is possibly **Zu-ur-tu-tu* (856 B.C.) and **De-ur-tu* in Aiada (714 B.C.), which may refer to one and the same place according to Salvini 1982, 387 (cf. Liebig 1991, 32; linguistic affiliation unknown). The latter form does not look like a variant of the former (the difference may be due to the considerable chronological gap). A quasi-homonym of **Zu-ur-tu-tu* (with the same interchange) may be **Du-ur-tu-tu* much more to the south (Tadmor 1994, 76; Adin, 5, 5). Fillers (1976, 227, n. 3) compared *de* of *D-Zurukka* to the same interchange in Kassite names (cf. already Streck 1900, 331 with n. 1; Schellengrütz 1905, 276).

Hardy < Olm, **Pa-* "guarded" (pace Zadok 1976, 388b).

**Pa-sa-as*, which is juxtaposed with *Anān* in the account of Sennacherib's eighth campaign (691 B.C.), is the earliest mention of Persia (see Diakonoff 1985a, 88) and has nothing to do with *Parsa* in the Zagros. The restoration [... *Pa*]-*sa-as* (from P. to *Bit-B/Pu-ni*), which is suggested by G. Franc and Grayson 1996, 193; Šamsi-Adad V. A.O.103.4, 32' (cf. 25'; presumably 812 B.C.), is geographically and historically implausible. The existence of a southern *Parsa* as early as the beginning of the seventh century B.C. strengthens the case for an Old Iranian derivation of *NE Ku-ur-da-ha-ka* (see Zadok 1983, 117f.; 1984b, 388 ad *Hu-mi-ka-ka* (pace Hinz and Koch 1987, see Zadok 1991a, 256f.). *Ku-ur-da-ha-ka* is based on Olm, **Kana-*, cf. NA *Ka-ka-ki* (As 6944 r. 7, 724 B.C., courtesy of K. Radner) < **Kana-* "young, small", cf. MPers. *kešag* "child, infant", NPers. *kešak* "child" (cf. Hübschmann 1895, 89–97).

Nos. 1–5, 8, 9 are certain and 6, 7 probable.

Urart. *Su-ur-ru-ru* is not identical with Ur III *Su-ur-ru-ru* (pace Astour 1987, 34).

Arva (practically a homonym of *Arva*) is a primary toponym (Radfah 1983, 58b; cf. Fiecke 1993, 55; MB Nuzi). *Arva* is not necessarily Hurrian also in view of the very early occurrence of the homonymous anthroponym *Ar-ru-a* at Tall Bédar (Isma'il et al. 1996, 187c, index, s.v.) where no Hurrian names are recorded (dated before their penetration into the Jezireh).

For a seemingly homonymous Akkadian word of von Soden 1965–81, 247a, *Zu-ur-ru-ru* Johns 1901a, 782, 11) is apparently based on the same form.

There are several homonymous places, e.g. *Kuzhar* near Qom at 34–35 50–49 and near Qazvin. For ancient

homonyms cf. Vallat 1993, 145, s.v. *Kamru* (cf. also *Kamru* (Kamru), 144f. and modern *Kamru* in Fars, which have the same base).

Is *Kamru* from there a late form of the toponym *Hamru* (presumably with *k* for earlier *h*-like NA *Kamru* for *Hannu*, 1.8 above)? *Ka-mu-ri* is classified as an anthroponym by Eidem (1992, 94a ad 124 10), but it can be interpreted as a toponym in view of the structure of the list ("one *Kamru*-garment" like other garments defined by GN in line 8f.) and the fact that the only clear anthroponym according to the context (line 6) is preceded by a *Personen*.

Sin may be the forerunner of *Senn* (below 7.15.6).

"Is the Tird of Sipuncu in Anz, 1247?" — Tadmor's question mark is in place here, as both forms are definitely different.

MA **Si-ni-ka* (Grayson 1991, 21; Tgl. 1 A.O.87.12, 91) which was perhaps in *Hablu* (see Nafef 1982, 339) and is tentatively etymologised as *Oltan*. **Hancu* "unit Soot" (see Eidem 1988, 2) is too early and isolated in such a remote territory. In addition, the correspondence MA **Si-ni-ka* > for **Si-ni-ka* is inadequate. Therefore it cannot represent a pre-Median toponym.

A-ka-ka, the name of the herak (*king*) of *Kirki* (Borger 1996, 181, 38), may originally be a genitive of *Akkadu*.

The possibility that the Assyrian scribe intentionally employed this spelling in order to distinguish between two homonymous successive individuals at the cost of an inaccurate rendering is unlikely.

Ur-ru-ru, which is mentioned in line 11 of the same document, was compared by me (Zadok 1979a, 298–32) with *Ur-ru-ru* of *Ur-ru-ru*, *Ur-ru-ru*. These forms are not derived from **Hu-ru-ru* (Jast 1895, 133, cf. Bartholomae 1904, 1836f.) in view of *Ur-ru* (see Hinz 1952, 178, A. 3). An Iranian etymology for *Ur-ru* (Zadok 1979a, 299–29) seems less likely.

Capraro and Parpola 1998a regard *Ba-ru-ru* and *B-Pu-ru-ru* (without elaboration) as Elamite, but the names are never Kassite. The same applies to *Ba-mi-ka-t-t* (Capraro and Parpola 1998b).

This segmentation, as well as a Babylonian interpretation of *bit*, is possible if one assumes that in writing the variant *bi-ti* the Assyrian scribes understood the *bi* as primary (not as an original *bi*).

A connection between this river and the settlement *B-Pu-ru*, which is recorded at OB *Sisura* (Eidem 1992, 88a with refs.), cannot be established.

For a list of toponyms with *-at* see Fillers 1954, 280f. (many pre-Iranian ones).

U-ka-ka (cf. Zadok 1992a, 213, n. 5) is not included here as there is no ample proof that he actually lived in Assyria proper.

A certain degree of continuity and preservation of the Hurrian onomastic tradition is discernible especially at the beginning of the Iron Age, e.g. *Sa-ti-ka* of *Ho-ru-ru* (king of *Ur-ru-ru* in *Paru*, Grayson 1991, 15; Tgl. 1 A.O.87.1, 5, 44), mentioned after *Ki-ka-ka* of *Ko-ru-ru*; *Ho-ru-ru* of *Ho-ru-ru* king of *Subria* (Lanfanchi and Parpola 1990, 244a with refs.); *Ke-ka* king of *Subria* (Borger 1996, 88; ASBE 61, [...]-*ke-ka* (from *Subria*, Borger 1996, 105; Gbr. II, 2, 22). Does *Sa-ti-ka* (cf. the (xx) of *Li-ka*, Parpola 1987, 48, 2, 7) begin with the Hurrian theophorous element *Sa-ti*? Several late MA toponyms referring to places in the southern Armenian plateau are homonymous with anthroponyms from Mari and late OB *Tikanni* (cf., e.g., Zadok 2000b, B, 2, 5, 6). However, most of the Urartians' names (cf., e.g., Lanfanchi and Parpola 1990, s.v. *Hu-ru-ru*, *Nor-ru-ru*, *Sa-ru-ru*, *Si-ka-ka*, *Su-ka-ka*, *Su-ka-ka*, *Su-ka-ka*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*, *Tu-ru*) have no clear parallels in the very rich Hurrian onomastic of the third and second millennia B.C.

Learning out the four toponyms with *bit* which refer to settlements (7.1.1, 2–4, 8, all in *Bit-Hanbat*).

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